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Superpowers Nearer To Gulf Cooperation

Iran Arms Embargo Closer to Reality But UN Naval Plan Is Still Uncertain

By David K. Shipler
 New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — After a period of competitive maneuvering over the Gulf War, the United States and the Soviet Union seem on the verge of some wary diplomatic cooperation in moving toward a United Nations Security Council resolution imposing an arms embargo on Iran. But some uncertainties lie ahead.

On the surface, Moscow appears to have abandoned its resistance to Washington's call for an embargo to follow the resolution of last summer calling for a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war.

Last week, the Soviet Union and the 14 other members of the council joined to state their readiness to draft such sanctions. But the Soviet position remains murky, according to U.S. officials, because Soviet officials have been saying different things to different governments about whether Moscow intends to make its approval of an embargo contingent on the creation of a UN naval unit in the Gulf.

Such a prerequisite, which poses practical problems and lacks U.S. support, could result in protracted negotiations serving only to delay an embargo.

"They're coming closer to going ahead with it," a Reagan administration official said of the Soviet approach to an embargo. "But how close they are is not clear. One is not quite sure until we get down to the table." UN talks on a resolution are expected next month.

To the extent that a shift in the Soviet position has actually taken place, it may have resulted from Moscow's diplomatic problems in the region, U.S. officials said. While the United States has been pressing since September for an embargo, the Soviet Union has been preaching patience, courting Iran and consequently angering many Arab governments.

"I think they've played it out for too long," said a U.S. official, "and only belatedly realized how serious the Gulf Arabs are on the question of the Iran-Iraq war, which for them is deeply threatening to their own survival and security."

Concurred Arab pressure also may have been responsible for obtaining support for the embargo from China, which has reportedly sold Silkorm missiles to Iran. U.S. officials note that the Arab summit meeting in Jordan last month produced a resolution suggesting a reassessment of relations

with countries that continue to supply Iran with weapons.

At the same time, Moscow appears to have made little headway with Iran, despite Iran's resentment over the buildup of U.S. naval forces in the Gulf. The Soviet

NEWS ANALYSIS

Union has tried to play to that Iranian concern by denouncing the naval presence as a source of tension and proposing to replace it with a UN fleet.

"In the process, they confirmed for themselves that they were unlikely to get very far with the Iranian government," a U.S. official said. One factor may have been Iran's buildup in apparent preparation for a major ground offensive against Iraq.

"Ultimately, the Soviet view was that they were losing on both counts—that they were losing with the Arabs and weren't gaining much with the Iranians," the official said.

In addition, after gaining support for an embargo from other Security Council members, most notably Japan, Italy and West Germany, the Reagan administration made clear its intention to put the

See GULF, Page 2



Cosmonaut Down After a Record 326 Days in Space

Smiling as Soviet interviewers zeroed in, the Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Romanenko emerged from a Soyuz capsule on Tuesday in Kazakhstan after his descent from the space station

Mir in which he spent a record 326 days. Two other cosmonauts, who stayed for shorter amounts of time on the Mir, returned with Mr. Romanenko. The descent was televised nationally. Page 2.

U.S. and Mexico Devise Novel Plan to Finance Debt

Washington Post Service

MEXICO CITY — In a move that could have a profound impact on global debt strategy, the United States and Mexico announced Tuesday a plan under which Mexico could convert up to a fifth of its \$108 billion in outstanding foreign loans into U.S.-backed bonds.

Under the plan, Mexico would buy \$10 billion of the U.S. Treasury bonds known as zero-coupon bonds at a 20-year term for a fraction of their face value, about \$2 billion. These bonds then would be used as collateral by Mexico to is-

sue 20-year bonds at rates of interest that are higher than those on loans now owed to the banks.

The IMF will add \$8 billion to aid for poor countries. Page 9.

Next, Mexico would offer these new bonds to banks in exchange for their retiring its old loans.

The swap would have two disadvantages for the banks: Mexico's new bonds would promise to pay less than the old promissory notes, and the longer term of the bonds

would mean that the banks would be repaid much later than they had originally expected. But it would have an overriding advantage: Lenders would have the full faith and credit of the U.S. government that they would be repaid.

Mexico would gain by being able to retire a large portion of its foreign debt for a fraction of its current face value. Of its total debt, \$78 billion is owed to banks, and \$24 billion of that to U.S. banks.

Mexico's bonds will be auctioned to private banks in the first quarter

of 1988, said bankers, who predicted a positive response to the offer.

"This is one step toward the solution of the debt problem, and it is important that it is a market-oriented solution," said an official of Mexico's central bank. "At least we are not going back to the same old system of rescheduling with talks that drag on for months. With this plan our principal will be lowered, and so will our servicing costs."

"Financially, the principle is very sound. It has been discussed for about three years now, and we

are pleased to see that it is finally being implemented."

The new debt plan is also seen as a politically sound move by a government that has been assailed for imposing tough new austerity policies. In an effort to reduce its deficit and combat inflation, the administration of President Miguel de la Madrid two weeks ago decreed sharp spending cuts and a near-doubling of energy prices and other public service costs.

Tuesday's development could be a breakthrough in the five-year-old See DEBT, Page 13

Afghan Rebels Said to Bolster Forces in Battle

By Richard M. Weintraub
 Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI — Anti-Soviet mujahidin are pouring fresh guerrillas into a major battle in Pakhtia and Logar provinces, setting up what is believed to be the biggest winter military confrontation in the eight-year Afghan war, according to reports from Pakistani and other diplomats.

As Soviet-led forces attempt to punch their way through mountains to relieve a garrison at Khost in Pakhtia Province, the mujahidin are sending units not only to the main battle site but also to adjacent Logar Province, through which Soviet and Kabul government forces and supplies must travel.

Reports from Pakistan say that 3,000 mujahidin are being sent to reinforce the 6,000 now operating around Khost and the 3,000 holding Soviet-led tanks and elite troops along the Gardez-Khost highway.

In addition, diplomatic reports say, several thousand mujahidin have moved into Logar Province, putting themselves in position both to maintain pressure on Kabul and to harass the Logar road.

(In Moscow, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennady Gerasimov, said at a press conference that government forces advancing on Khost broke through to army units from the city on Tuesday, Agency France-Press reported. He said it would take several more days to open fully the road to Khost from Gardez, which lies to the west.)

In Islamabad, Afghan guerrillas rejected claims by Kabul that the siege had been broken. "Normally, fighting in Afghanistan comes to a halt by this time of year as cold and snow add to the difficulties of operating in the mountains. With diplomatic developments toward a possible settlement of the conflict in an intense stage, however, both sides appear to be determined to press for a military advantage and to show no sign of weakness."

Whether by accident or design, the battle for Khost is taking place in one of the few areas where logistics favor the mujahidin rather than the mobile Soviet forces. Not only is Khost close to the Pakistan border, but it also is only a few miles from major mujahidin staging areas in north Waziristan near Miranshah and in the Parichinar area. Soviet and Kabul government forces, on the other hand, are at the far end of a logistics chain that runs through miles of rugged mountain passes that offer the guerrilla forces both good cover and easy opportunities for mining the roadways.

Guerrilla forces have besieged a Kabul government garrison in Khost almost from the beginning of the war, and it has been supplied mostly by air or by heavily armed convoys. With the addition of highly effective Stinger missiles to the mujahidin arsenal a year ago, the air See BATTLE, Page 2

See AFGHAN, Page 2

Mr. Fitzwater said, "We're very disappointed that there does not appear to have been any movement to withdraw in Afghanistan," especially as a major Soviet offensive is taking place in that conflict. He added, "While the president congratulates General Secretary Gorbachev for appearing on the cover of Time magazine, with prominence goes responsibility, and we would hope that this would be an honor based on the expectations of

Reagan Aide Says Russia Ties Arms Cuts to ABM

By Don Oberdorfer
 Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The presidential national security adviser, Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell Jr., said in a letter released Tuesday that the Soviet Union might have agreed upon reductions of its strategic nuclear arms or even increase its strategic forces if it is not satisfied with U.S. compliance with the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan, who received the Powell letter and made it public, called it "a needed clarification" of what happened at the Washington summit talks. It appears to refute President Ronald Reagan's remark that the meeting had "resolved" the U.S.-Soviet argument over his Strategic Defense Initiative.

Mr. Levin, a leading critic of SDI in the Armed Services Committee, said the letter shows "there is a long way to go" before resolving strategic military issues with the Russians, and that "if we don't reach a START agreement, the likely cause will be the unresolved conflict over ABM and SDI." He was referring to the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks.

Speaking of START, Mr. Levin added in a telephone interview, "It's important to understand that if the negotiations fail, this not be laid at the doorstep of some kind of backing away by the Soviets from an agreement reached during the Washington summit."

He added, "There was no agreement that we can proceed with SDI without precipitating their right to build up their strategic forces."

The key move on strategic defense issues at the summit meeting, as made public Dec. 10 in the final joint statement, was U.S. and Sovi-

Geneva Negotiations

A spokesman for Mr. Levin noted Tuesday that General Powell's letter did not discuss the problems posed during the Geneva negotiations by the dispute over the ABM Treaty and its restrictions on SDI research, United Press International reported from Washington.

The spokesman said that from the "Soviet point of view, it's quite possible there will be no START agreement until this issue is resolved. Powell thinks it is only a post-START problem."

Central Banks Intervene As Dollar Hits New Lows

By Hobart Rowen
 Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The dollar slipped Tuesday to record lows for the second consecutive day, then rose slightly when central banks intervened to buy dollars in currency markets. Trading was very thin.

The currency's problems weighed on stock markets in Europe, Asia and the United States. Worst hit was London, where share prices fell 3.4 percent. In New York, the Dow Jones Industrial average fell 16.08 points, to close at 1,926.89.

The dollar hit postwar lows in Europe against the Deutsche mark, Swiss franc and Dutch guilder before the intervention. Later in New York, the dollar closed weaker against most currencies.

Shigeru Tokumasa, a foreign exchange dealer for Fuji Bank in New York, said the aim of the intervention was "not to change the market sentiment, but to smooth the decline of the dollar."

A spokesman for the New York Fed would not confirm or deny that the central bank was intervening for the second day in a row.

On Monday, the intervention could not cope with the negative sentiment in the markets, which

remain displeased with what they consider a weak statement last week by the Group of Seven—the United States, West Germany, Japan, Britain, France, Italy and Canada—in support of the dollar.

But the fact that the Fed was buying dollars for the U.S. government, coupled with reports of intervention earlier by the Bank of Japan; the Bundesbank, West Germany's central bank; the Bank of Canada; the Swiss National Bank and the Bank of England was enough to pull the dollar off its lows in thin trading.

Later, the Swiss central bank confirmed that it had bought dollars for Swiss francs. The Bundesbank also confirmed it had intervened.

In Frankfurt, the dollar touched a new postwar low of 1.5865 DM, below the 1.5870 DM touched in Tokyo on Monday, the dollar's previous postwar low.

That brought German central bank intervention into play, pulling the price up to 1.5900. But when the force of that buying began to peter out, the New York Fed stepped in, dealers said, buying

See DOLLAR, Page 13



Money market dealers in hectic trading in Frankfurt. The dollar touched a new postwar low of 1.5865 Deutsche marks on Tuesday before rising slightly after concerted bank intervention. The dollar also hit lows against the Swiss franc and the Dutch guilder.

Faith in Sandinist Revolution Dulls Amid Growing Hardship

By James LeMoyné
 New York Times Service

MANAGUA — A white dove curls toward the sky on a billboard splashed with soft pastels of green and blue. The visual message of the painting is made explicit by the words below it: "We want peace."

A few blocks away a statue of a bare-chested worker stares defiantly over the weedy waste lots, rubble, shanties and clouds of dust that make up downtown Managua. The left hand is balled into a fist that stabs an AK-47 assault rifle into the sky.

"Only the workers and peasants will go to the end," says the dedication etched beneath the statue, the central public work of art in the capital.

The plea for peace and the strident celebration of armed class struggle are only two of the contradictory currents that ripple through Nicaraguan society.

Public art and government billboards do not express the exhaustion, apathy and bitterness that deeply affect Nicaraguans, whose holiday season is burdened with poverty, many angry slogans, and that bear witness to the course of the Sandinist revolution, which was graced with national unity and broad international support when it defeated the 42-year dictatorship of the Somoza family in 1979.

Eight years later, the Sandinists are on the defensive. The Nicaraguan economy has crumbled. The U.S.-supported armed challenge from the contras, the U.S.-supported rebels, is sharpening, and popular support for the government appears to have declined markedly.

There seems, however, to be no immediate threat to the Sandinists, a well-organized party with a strong base of support and control of the police, the army and the main trade unions.

The Sandinists have merged their party with most of the political and military institutions of the state and incline toward state control of the economy. They adhere basically to a Leninist view of power, with their party as the elite leading the revolution.

They are trying to create a sense of national purpose and a modern state in a country that has never had either.

Sandinist leaders have shown more flexibility than most governing Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries in the world. They have allowed a measure of political pluralism and private enterprise, and have struggled to provide schools, clinics and a sense of participation to their followers. Some of the most talented people in Nicaragua are members of the Sandinist party.

But the Sandinists' power no longer appears to be based on a broad national consensus.

Unlike other governments in Central America, the Sandinists have outlawed public opinion polls, making it impossible to make an objective sampling of the level of support for the government. But conversations in the grimy working-class neighborhoods of Managua, where many residents stand idle in their doorways, give an impression of deep discontent among poor people who were once some of the strongest supporters of the Sandinists.

"We have never been so badly off," said Maria See NICARAGUA, Page 2

Kiosk

Shuttle Delayed By Parts Failure

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — NASA said Tuesday that its first post-Challenger space shuttle flight, scheduled for June, is being delayed because of the failure of a motor component during last week's test of the shuttle's redesigned booster rocket in Utah.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration said Tuesday that while the rocket field joint performed properly, an "outer boot ring" to the booster's motor nozzle did not.

The failure of the field joint caused the destruction of the shuttle Challenger and the loss of its seven-member crew on Jan. 28, 1986.



"Inspector Gadget," hero of a television cartoon series, has helped DIC Animation City Inc. go public. Page 11.

GENERAL NEWS

■ Vietnam is ending centralized economic planning. Page 2.

■ U.S. Roman Catholic bishops temporarily set aside a position paper on AIDS. Page 3.

BUSINESS/FINANCE

■ Gulf Arab states called for a halt to oil price discounting by OPEC members. Page 9.

Dow close: DOWN 16.08
 The dollar in New York:
 DM £ Yen FF
 1.5945 1.8605 123.45 5.401

Soviet Cosmonaut Down After Record 326 Days Aboard a Space Station

By Celestine Bohlen
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Cosmonaut Yuri Romanenko returned to Earth on Tuesday after a record 326 days in space, crowning a year of achievements for the Soviet space program.

The Soyuz TM-3 space capsule touched down on the snow-covered steppes of Kazakhstan shortly after noon. It was televised nationally.

Two other cosmonauts, Alexander Alexandrov and Anatoli Levchenko, returned with Mr. Romanenko from the Soviet space station Mir. They left behind two other cosmonauts who are expected to stay in space for a year, according to the Soviet news agency Tass.

The crew switch aboard the Mir signaled the inauguration of a permanent manned space station. This is considered to be the principal mission of the Mir, a hub equipped with docking stations that was launched in February 1986 in honor of the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Mr. Romanenko, 43, a veteran cosmonaut who spent New Year's Day 1978 in space, took off on his mission in February this year with Alexander Laveikin, who had to return to Earth in July because of irregularities in his heartbeat.

The return Tuesday took three hours, according to Soviet television, which showed the five cosmonauts on board the Mir bidding each other farewell. Tass said the returning crew brought back a mass of scientific data, much of it accumulated on the astro-physics research module Kvant that joined the Mir station this year.

The Soviet space program in recent years has put priority on experiments with prolonged exposure to weightlessness and other conditions in space. One goal is a manned flight to Mars, planned for early in the next century, which scientists estimate would last more than 30 months.

The Soviets announced this

spring that they are planning to send an armada of unmanned spacecraft to Mars by the end of the next decade. They plan to launch 60,000 pounds of scientific instruments, support equipment and automated rovers that could roam the planet's surface.

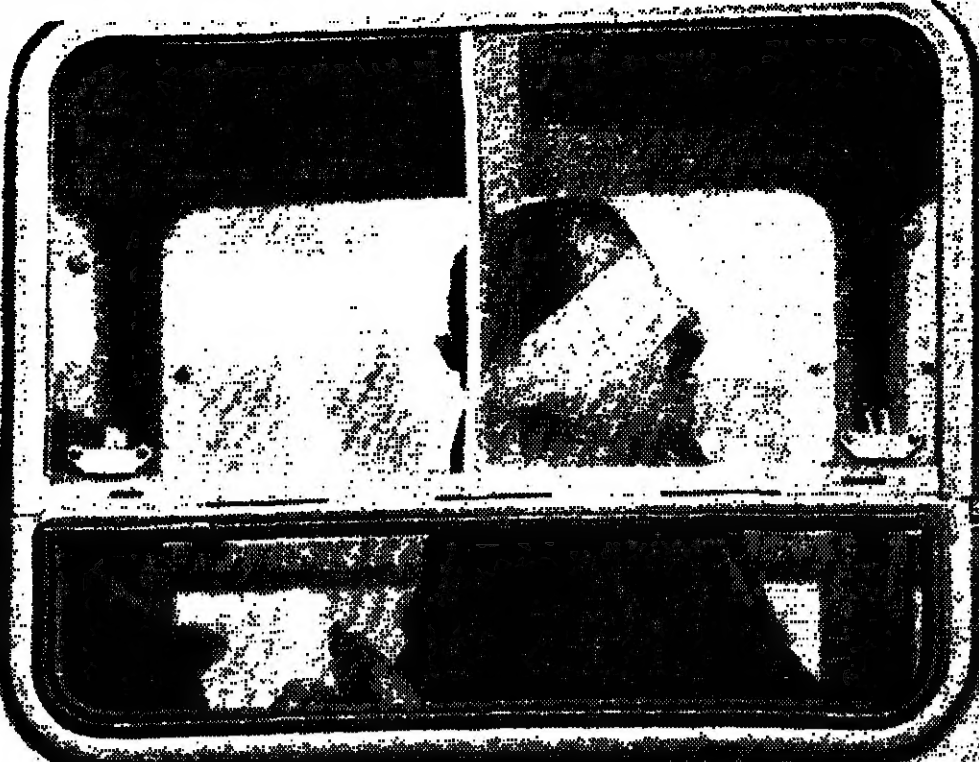
Last May, the Russians launched a powerful new rocket capable of hoisting a 100-ton payload into space. This is viewed as the first successful test of a main element in their space shuttle program. The rocket, called the Energia, has been the most powerful in the world since the United States discontinued production of the Saturn 5 rockets.

The string of Soviet successes have shown up in sharp relief the setbacks suffered by the U.S. space program since the shuttle Challenger exploded after takeoff last year. The Russians this year have further opened their program to foreign investment, offering services to put experiments and communication satellites into space.

The endurance tests in space have produced a wealth of evidence about the effects of weightlessness on the human body. In an article in Pravda in December, Mr. Romanenko told ground control that his calf muscles had shriveled up even though he and Mr. Alexandrov, who joined him in July, kept in shape by working on a treadmill and exercise bicycles.

Mr. Romanenko surpassed the world record for space endurance in October. It was set by another Soviet crew at 237 days. The Mir, a "third generation" vehicle, is designed to stay continually manned, although it was empty for several months in the summer of last year.

In his Pravda article, Mr. Romanenko jokingly suggested some attributes for future spacemen: "A bald head to avoid haircuts, big arms — six would be better — and slim legs or just one with grips, to keep steady."



A Palestinian in a prison van awaiting trial outside a court in Nablus after the recent unrest.

Israeli Soldiers to Get More Training In Violence Control, Army Chief Says

By John Kifner
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Israel's army commander says his troops will be given more riot training and riot control equipment to deal with Palestinian unrest such as the recent two weeks of violence in which soldiers shot and killed 21 protesters.

General Dan Shomron, chief of the general staff, said in a briefing for Israeli military correspondents and in an interview with the army radio on Tuesday that his men had been taken by surprise by the scope and intensity of the violence that has swept through the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

But General Shomron said there were now more soldiers in the Gaza Strip alone than had been used to occupy both areas in the 1967 Six Day War.

"The disturbances in the territo-

ries will not occur again," said Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

"Even if we are forced to use massive force, under no circumstances will we allow last week's events to repeat themselves," Mr. Rabin told the newspaper Ha'aretz.

Both the defense minister and the army commander said their forces were gearing up to prevent any disorders on Friday, which is celebrated by Palestinians as "Fatah Day," commemorating the founding of the guerrilla organization 23 years ago.

Military courts in Gaza and the West Bank continued efforts to try to convict the nearly one thousand Palestinians rounded up by the army.

The prisoners, some of whom have been held in tents at makeshift jails, are brought to the courts handcuffed and blindfolded in buses.

But the effort to process them in what are termed "speedy trials" have been hampered by confusion and disorganization.

In Nablus on the West Bank, the military judge, Yehoshua Halevy, criticized the security forces for failing to produce almost half the prisoners listed on the docket.

In Gaza, the army radio reported, 30 cases were heard and all but 10 defendants pleaded guilty, receiving sentences of up to three months.

The government has been debating whether or not to expel a number of Palestinians, and has come under strong diplomatic pressure from the United States not to do so.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir also said Tuesday that the government was considering deportations — a punishment used in the days of the British Mandate — despite American objections.

Full Revamp Of Economic Policies Set By Vietnam

By Barbara Crosse
New York Times Service

BANGKOK — Vietnam has announced a sweeping domestic economic policy that in effect abandons centralized planning in favor of managerial decision-making at the factory level in state enterprises.

Vietnamese press and radio reports say the policy also introduces worker incentives, quality control, shareholding, an expanded banking industry and wage scales linked to productivity. It is to take effect Jan. 1.

While some of these concepts have been discussed and occasionally allowed to operate over the last few years, Vietnamese officials and diplomats say that the Council of Ministers' Decision No. 217, the 10,000-word announcement is titled, is the most comprehensive economic policy change since the unification of Vietnam in 1975.

"After nearly a decade of exploration of the realities, now a new structure of management has been formed," the Vietnamese Communist Party daily newspaper, Nhan Dan, said in an editorial on Dec. 16. The policy pronouncement, read in installations on the government's domestic radio service, has since been collated and translated for the British Broadcasting Corp.'s monitoring service. No date has been given for the decision.

The publication of an economic plan comprehensive enough to include everything from how to handle capital depreciation to the need for day-care centers in factories appears to indicate the strengthening of the hand of the Vietnamese party leader, Nguyen Van Linh, who has been in office a year.

Mr. Linh, along with Vo Van Kiet, the government's chief economic planner and others in the new hierarchy, have been advocating "renovation" of the economy by market methods.

But there have been few positive results because, diplomats suggest, the country is devoid of economic expertise and still subject to intervention, if not sabotage, by hard-line Marxists.

This month, when the party's Central Committee met, it heard gloomy reports of acute problems on economic, social and security fronts. Vietnam, cut off from Western assistance by its occupation of Cambodia and entirely reliant on the Soviet bloc for aid, is among the world's poorest nations.

The changes in economic policy, now codified in Decision 217, reflect similar rethinking in the Soviet Union, but Vietnamese officials are defensive when asked if Moscow had demanded an end to the inefficiencies and corruption that have "squandered" Soviet aid, by Hanoi's own admission.

Vietnamese say that the parallel policy changes are coincidental, and they point to experiments in free-market economics in what was formerly South Vietnam in the early 1980s, shortly after its conquest by the North. Those experiments — really extensions of South Vietnam's traditional ways of doing business — were suppressed harshly by hard-liners in Hanoi led by the party leader, Le Duan, and his immediate successor, Truong Chinh. Mr. Linh was purged from the Politburo in 1982 for his support for "southern" methods.

Vietnamese see the present move toward decentralization, the end to subsidies and the beginning of cost accounting, bank financing and other free-market practices as the product of a confluence of thinking in Moscow and Hanoi, which encourages such changes to take place.

The Council of Ministers' Decision 217 summarizes the policy as a means to "develop production and business, improve labor output, product quality and socio-economic results, create more marketable products and support services needed by society, generate an ever larger source of revenue for the state budget, and gradually improve the livelihoods of workers and civil servants."

The economic code will allow workers to submit ideas for improved production and employers to hire and dismiss workers free of political pressures. State enterprises, which now include most large-scale production in Vietnam, will make in-house decisions on the use of equipment, production targets and sources of finance. They will also be subject to closing if they fail to perform satisfactorily.

4 Killed in Fire At an MX Plant

The Associated Press

BRIGHAM CITY, Utah — Four workers were killed in a fire Tuesday at a building of Morton Thiokol Inc. where work on a stage of the MX missile is done, company officials said.

A spokesman said the fire broke out early in the morning at the plant 25 miles (40 kilometers) west of Brigham City. It erupted during removal of casting equipment from a loaded first-stage motor, he said. Four workers were killed, one was injured and the building was destroyed, he said.

The intercontinental ballistic missile has been one of the centerpiece of the Reagan administration's military buildup. Twenty-two have been installed in silos at Warren Air Force Base in Wyoming.

WORLD BRIEFS

Strauss Asks Shorter Term for Rust

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Premier Franz Josef Strauss of Bavaria appealed Tuesday to the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, to shorten the four-year sentence of Matthias Rust, the young West German pilot who landed a light plane in Red Square in May.

Mr. Strauss, who arrived in Moscow on Monday for a three-day visit, made the appeal in a two-and-a-half-hour meeting with Mr. Gorbachev at the Kremlin, a spokesman for the West German Embassy, Alexander Allardt, said.

Mr. Allardt, who was not present at the meeting, said that he did not know what Mr. Gorbachev's reaction had been. Mr. Rust, 19, was sentenced to four years in a labor camp.

Arab Guerrillas to Free 2 French Girls

BEIRUT (Reuters) — The Palestinian guerrilla group led by Abu Nidal said Tuesday that it would free two French girls it seized with adults from a yacht and hand them over to their father in France as soon as possible.

The Fatah Revolutionary Council said it would move Marie-Louise Valente, 5, and her sister Virginie, 6, to an Arab camp after mediation efforts. On Friday, the group also said that Jacqueline Valente, the mother of the two, had given birth to a daughter in captivity.

"Our movement is working with concerned parties to move the two girls to one of the Arab capitals," according to the statement sent to news agency in Beirut.

Radar Episodic on Philippine Ferry

MANILA (UPI) — Radar scanning was performed only intermittently on the coastal ferry MV Dona Paz, a senior shipping line officer testified Tuesday during an inquiry into the collision that killed at least 1,400 people and possibly as many as 2,100.

The five-member Board of Marine Inquiry later rejected an appeal by lawyers for the victims' families to remove the hearing from Coast Guard jurisdiction but adjourned the proceedings until next Monday.

A Sulpicio Lines official, Plutarco Bawagan, said on the second day of the inquiry that he had spent two months as skipper of the vessel, which sank in flames Dec. 20 after a crash with the oil tanker MT Victor. It was the worst peacetime marine disaster. At that time, he said, "I would use the radar only when necessary, when I was in doubt about my position."

Soviet Editor Dropped for Fake Data

MOSCOW (AP) — A popular weekly magazine that apologized to its readers earlier this month for publishing data it said were falsified by its foreign editor apparently has dismissed the editor.

The name of Dmitri Biryukov was removed from the list of editors published in the latest weekend edition of Ogonyok, a magazine that has been in the forefront of Mikhail S. Gorbachev's drive for greater openness.

In an issue published Dec. 5-6, the magazine printed a retraction of material included in an article by Mr. Biryukov in November. He wrote that a public opinion poll of residents of Novosibirsk indicated that 3 percent of the people were for Mr. Gorbachev's effort to restructure society, 50 percent were neutral and 20 percent were opposed. Three issues later, Ogonyok said a check had shown that there was no such poll and that Mr. Biryukov had made up the data.

TRAVEL UPDATE

A snowstorm in the U.S. Northeast dumped up to 12 inches (30 centimeters) of snow across the area on Tuesday and disrupted air traffic. Boston was hit by 8 inches of snow. New York 6 inches. Officials at Logan International Airport in Boston closed all but one runway as snow blown by 30 mph (48 kph) winds cut visibility. In the New York area, Kennedy and LaGuardia airports reported delays of up to 30 minutes, as did Newark. (Reuters)

All 270 flights of the French domestic airline Air Inter scheduled Wednesday and Thursday will be maintained despite a strike by some pilots and flight technicians, the airline said Tuesday. (AP)

Iran Air flights between London and Tehran resumed Tuesday for the first time in two weeks after a dispute over the use of sniffer dogs led to the airline canceling services. Iran had objected on religious grounds to British customs officers using dogs to check Iranian airplanes for drugs and explosives when they arrived at Heathrow. (AP)

All northern Italian airports except Genoa were closed Tuesday because of fog, the authorities reported. Flights scheduled to land or take off at Milan, Turin, Venice and Bologna were delayed or canceled, Alitalia reported. (AP)

All visitors to Libya need a certificate saying they do not have AIDS, the Libyan news agency JANA said Tuesday. (Reuters)

Sliders in Austria competed themselves Tuesday by playing golf or tennis as Mediterranean temperatures left lower mountain slopes green and barren of snow and forced some higher resorts to ration skiing. (Reuters)

Correction

Because of an editing error by the International Herald Tribune, an article on Dec. 29 incorrectly described an account in the Spanish newspaper El Pais. The article should have said that Spanish officials confirmed that a mid-1991 deadline had been set by Spain for the removal of U.S. aircraft.

NICARAGUA: Weary of War

(Continued from Page 1)

Elena Garcia, who was selling homemade sweets in the Riguro neighborhood. "Many here wish the government would change." Spurred by a limited political opening offered by the Sandinistas in compliance with a regional peace treaty that took effect in November, 14 opposition parties have formed a united front that includes the Communist and Socialist parties as well as the highly conservative businessmen's association. It is the broadest ideological opposition to arise against the Sandinista government.

President Daniel Ortega Saavedra and other leading officials appear worried by the show of opposition unity. They have accused opposition leaders of being counter-revolutionaries and warned that their freedom to organize may be revoked and their property seized, tactics the Sandinistas have used in the past to punish critics.

For now, the opposition newspaper La Prensa and a Roman Catholic radio station hammer the Sandinistas daily for a variety of alleged shortcomings. But opponents say they doubt the Sandinistas will tolerate organized opposition for long and this may be a last chance to politically confront the government.

"The Sandinistas have achieved the impossible," said Carlos Salgado, a Marxist who was educated in Moscow and who now heads the trade union of the Socialist Party. "They have united the opposition against them and turned the popular classes into supporters of the right."

"Nicaraguans have never been so anti-Communist as today because they blame the left for what the Sandinistas have done," he added. Mr. Salgado, who says he was jailed 18 times by the dictatorship of the Somoza for leading strikes and organizing workers, once strongly supported the Sandinistas.

There is much debate on the main causes of the crisis. Explanations include the guerrilla war and economic pressure from the United States, the weaknesses of one-party rule, and the mismanagement by the Sandinistas of the state-run economy. The weight given to the respective causes appears often to depend on the ideological stance of

Jobs, except with the state and fighting in the army, are virtually non-existent. Salaries, set by the state, are made almost worthless because of annual inflation of more than 1,000 percent and constant devaluation of the currency, cordoba.

Gulf Council Calls For Sanctions on Iran

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

CAIRO — Leaders of Arab nations on the Gulf, speaking of a "dangerous escalation" in hostilities, urged the imposition of sanctions against Iran on Tuesday to support a United Nations demand for a cease-fire in the war with Iraq.

A statement, ending a summit meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council in Riyadh, fell short, however, of denouncing Tehran with the same tough language as was used at an Arab League summit meeting in Amman last month.

In July, the UN Security Council

approved a resolution demanding an end to the seven-year war between Baghdad and Tehran, but the UN secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, failed during visits to the two capitals to secure its implementation.

Iraq accepted the peace terms but Iran said it first wanted Baghdad named as the aggressor in the war. The Security Council is now set to debate a possible arms embargo against Iran for failing to accept the resolution.

The Gulf Cooperation Council "calls on the international community and especially the Security Council to shoulder its responsibility in adopting the measures to implement" the cease-fire resolution, the statement Tuesday said.

The Council's members — Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman and the United Arab Emirates — have been gradually drawn into siding with Iraq in the war.

The statement did not specifically refer to sanctions. But at a news conference in Riyadh on Tuesday, Prince Saud al Faisal, the Saudi Arabian foreign minister, said the summit participants wanted the UN "to issue a decision to implement the resolution and to impose sanctions on the state that does not implement it."

"There will be missions to the permanent Security Council members to reinforce efforts expended to reach an agreement on the implementation" of the cease-fire resolution, he said.

"The ball is now in Iran's court," the prince said. "It is the interest and hope of all Arab countries that Iran responds to the call of peace."

The Soviet Union has previously opposed sanctions against Tehran but agreed last week to discuss ways of halting the war.

Prince Saud drew a distinction between the Council's newest ini-

tative and previous Arab mediation efforts by saying the Council did not plan to send delegations to Tehran or Baghdad.

"The mission we are backing is that of the Security Council," he said.

The closing statement seemed, analysts said, to reflect caution about provoking Tehran into unpredictable reprisals as much as the Council's now-formalized backing of Baghdad against non-Arab Iran.

The six Gulf states, the statement said, expressed "appreciation of Iraq's positive response toward the Security Council resolution and its readiness to implement it."

The Council, it said, "notes with regret Iran's attempt to procrastinate on the implementation of the resolution" and hoped that "Iran would take a stand that would respond to the will of the international community and to the call of the Islamic nation to end the war."

The grouping of Gulf Arab nations, it said, had "exchanged views on the dangerous escalation which threatens the security and stability

of the member countries and international language."

The softer language than that of the Amman summit meeting was also ascribed by some analysts to the close relationship between Tehran and two southern Gulf states — the United Arab Emirates and Oman.

The two countries, nervous about Iran's strength, have sought a dialogue with Iran to avert confrontation and had urged the Council to send a delegation to Tehran.

The cautiously worded statement, read by Abdullah Yacoub Bishara, the Council's secretary-general, ascribed no direct blame for attacks on shipping in the Gulf, but said they constituted a violation of international law.

Since 1984, both Iran and Iraq have attacked tankers and other vessels heading for each other's ports, drawing in a flotilla of more than 80 U.S. and other foreign warships to protect shipping.

No major attacks were reported during the Gulf Cooperation Council meeting.

BATTLE: Rebel Activity Reported

(Continued from Page 1)

route has become increasingly perilous. Analysts raised the possibility this week that the latest Soviet-led offensive could be an effort to get supplies into the area to avoid a severe defeat at a critical time in the fight-and-talk stage of the war.

According to sources in Pakistan and diplomats, Soviet tank units operating in tandem with helicopter-borne special forces have been pushing their way along the road from Gardez to Khost but have encountered heavy resistance from mujahidin forces in the passes that mark the route.

Kabul radio and the Soviet news agency Tass have reported breakthroughs along the Gardez-Khost highway and heavy losses among the mujahidin. The mujahidin commander in the area has labeled these reports as false, according to reports Tuesday from Peshawar.

There have been no independent reports from journalists from either side, however, so it is impossible to verify the accounts.

The Khost garrison is said to number several thousand Kabul government troops with Soviet advisers, and the attacking force has been placed by Western diplomats at about 20,000 Soviet troops as well as large numbers of Kabul government soldiers.

Meanwhile, mujahidin leaders in Peshawar have been showing increasing nervousness about the pace of diplomatic events, warning that they must be included in any settlement of the Afghan conflict.

While maintaining a hard line on a Soviet pullout, however, there also have been significant changes in their public position.

A Mujahidin spokesman, Mo-

ammed Yunus Khasles, in a speech marking the eighth anniversary of the Soviet intervention, gave assurances that ways could be found to assure the safe withdrawal of Soviet forces and that most Afghans who had been "forced" to cooperate with the Russians could continue to stay in the country. He said that only about 5,000 to 6,000 members of the pro-Soviet People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan would have to go with the Soviet forces.

This is believed to be the first time the mujahidin have spoken publicly of such accommodations and of the numbers of Afghans they would not allow to remain in the country.

In addition, Mr. Khasles spoke for the first time of an interim government, a concept that figures prominently in thinking among U.S. and Pakistani officials but which so far has not been mentioned favorably by the mujahidin.

Mines Reported Removed

In his Moscow news conference, Mr. Gerasimov said about 1,200 mines were being removed each day from the 120-kilometer (75-mile) Khost-to-Gardez road. He added that although the advancing troops had now joined up with units from Khost, the road would not be opened to traffic until Thursday.

Fighting has raged on the mountain road since government forces from Gardez began an offensive three weeks ago aimed at freeing Khost from a rebel siege that has isolated the garrison since August 1979.

Mr. Gerasimov also said a U.S. citizen had been killed in the battle zone around Khost. His comments followed earlier Soviet-Afghan reports that an American "adviser" had been killed in the fighting.

Mr. Gerasimov said he did not know where the American was, or from where he had come, and he did not repeat the assertion that the man was an "adviser."

The White House said Monday that it had no information to confirm that a U.S. citizen had been killed in Afghanistan, and it denied the allegations that it had military advisers in that country.

AFGHAN: Armacost's Trip

(Continued from Page 1)

change. A good place to start might be Afghanistan."

A major new Soviet move has been anticipated in some administration circles since the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Yuli Voronov, told Mr. Armacost in an October meeting that another round of the UN-sponsored talks on Afghanistan should be held by February and that this should be the final round in the five-year-old negotiations.

Major General Najib, leader of the Afghan Communist Party, announced in late November that Soviet troops would leave the country within 12 months "or less" after their pullout began.

This timetable was repeated by Mr. Gorbachev to Mr. Reagan in their Dec. 8-10 summit meeting along with a pledge that Soviet forces would not engage in military operations other than self-defense once the withdrawal began.

The Soviet proposal for a 12-month withdrawal period is far less than the 48-month period they initially offered in the UN-sponsored talks, and it appears to be within negotiating distance of the eight-month period proposed recently by Pakistan.

The main demand of the United States and Pakistan is that the Soviet Union announce a "date certain" for the pullout of its troops to begin. Mr. Reagan and other U.S. officials have repeatedly called on Mr. Gorbachev to take this major step toward withdrawal, but so far the Soviet Union has balked.

Mr. Voronov, who has been Moscow's diplomatic point man in the Afghan conflict, has promised to visit the Pakistani capital of Islamabad soon. Pakistani officials have said they expect him to bring advance word of the Soviet position in connection with a final session of the UN talks.

Arkansan Admits To 16 Murders

United Press International

RUSSELLVILLE, Arkansas — Authorities said Tuesday that an unemployed man had murdered 14 relatives at his rural home before going on a shooting spree that left two dead and four wounded.

Gene Simmons, 47, surrendered to the police on Monday after shooting six persons at four businesses in Russellville. He led police back to his house, 10 miles (16 kilometers) outside of the town, where they found the bodies of Mr. Simmons' wife, two sons, four daughters, the spouses of two of the children and five grandchildren, authorities said.

They said the victims at the house apparently were killed a short time before Christmas. In the Russellville spree, Mr. Simmons' targets were former co-workers or employers, they said, including the owner of a convenience store where Mr. Simmons recently had quit a job as a clerk.

12 Die as Rains Hit Brazil

Reuters

RIO DE JANEIRO — At least 12 people died and 1,500 were left homeless in Brazil after torrential rainfall swept across the southeastern state of Minas Gerais, the civil defense authority said Monday.

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کتابخانه

Without Fanfare, Women Are Emerging as Strategists in U.S. Presidential Races

By Robin Toner

WASHINGTON — In the inner circles of presidential campaigns, where crucial decisions are made, women are making a breakthrough in what was once a nearly exclusive male preserve.

With little fanfare, women have emerged in a range of senior positions in the 1988 presidential campaigns. The campaign manager for Governor Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts is a woman, and so are the press secretaries for Senator Bob Dole of Kansas and Vice President George Bush.

Women are serving as deputy campaign managers for Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri and former Governor Bruce Rabbitt of Arizona, as political director for Representative Jack F. Kemp of New York, as the Iowa coordinator for Mr. Dukakis and in a host of other jobs central to the campaigns.

Ann F. Lewis, a Democratic strategist, noted, "The frustration about the lack of women presidential candidates has sort of masked the fact that at the next level, within presidential campaigns, there's a growing presence of women in senior staff."

And Celinda Lake, political director for the Women's Campaign Fund, said, "For the first time, you can have major strategy meetings in the ladies' room."

Women have long been active in presidential politics, with some rising to prominence and occasionally power in campaigns. On the Demo-



"We've got women everywhere in this campaign. It's not a matter of tokenism. It's not a matter of symbolism. It's done not because we set out to be half and half but because we set out to get the best people, and half of the best people were women."

— Susan R. Estrich, campaign manager for Michael S. Dukakis

cratic side, Jean Westwood was co-chairwoman of Senator George S. McGovern's campaign in 1972, and Anne Weiler was co-chair-

woman of Senator Eugene McCarthy's 1968 campaign. But they were very much the exception, not the rule.

People active in politics are describing 1988 as a breakthrough year because of the kinds of roles that women are increasingly as-

suming: visible, high-level and at the center of campaign strategy. "What's important is the extent to which these women are no longer

noteworthy in and of themselves," said Ms. Lewis. She has long called presidential politics the "last locker room" but now sees them changing. "There's a big difference between being the woman and one of a number," she said.

Perhaps the most prominent example came in October, when Mr. Dukakis named Susan R. Estrich to the position of campaign manager. According to the National Women's Political Caucus, she is the first woman to manage a major campaign for the presidency.

Ms. Estrich, 35, is emblematic of a cadre of professional women now emerging from the political pipeline, tested by two or three presidential campaigns and sometimes races for the Senate and House of Representatives as well.

She was deputy national issues director for Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts in 1980, executive director of the Democratic National Platform Committee in 1984 and senior policy advisor to Walter F. Mondale in his 1984 presidential campaign.

There are now a number of women who are like myself, on their third presidential campaign," said Ms. Estrich, who is on leave from a professorship at Harvard Law School. The Dukakis campaign is likely to swell the pool.

"We've got women everywhere in this campaign," she said. "It's not a matter of tokenism. It's done not because we set out to be half and half but because we set out to get the best people, and half of the best people were women."

The Mondale campaign was a stepping-stone for a number of women now active in Democratic presidential politics. So, too, were the 1986 elections, when women held key positions in many House and Senate campaigns.

After that election, many of those women gathered in Washington for a conference on "Democratic Leadership: The Women Who Ran the '86 Campaign." Several 1988 presidential campaigns recruited staff members at the conference, participants said.

On the Republican side, Barbara Pardo, the press secretary to Mr. Bush, said, "When we sit down to talk about our strategy for Iowa, for Michigan, for the South, there are a lot of women in the room, and that is something different."

Mari Maseng, the press secretary to Mr. Dole, said, "Politics has been an area of opportunity for women for some time. It's just that now, women are sort of working their way up the ladder and becoming more visible in higher positions."

Several women in the campaigns emphasized that their roles were not confined to narrowly defined "women's issues" and "women's votes." Part of that, they said, reflects a heightened sophistication toward women voters, which is a direct result of having women scattered in a variety of jobs, from scheduling to field work.

"A woman's perspective is now being leveraged throughout the campaign," said Nikki Heidepriem, a consultant to the Dukakis campaign.

For example, she said, a candidate eager for the votes of workers might be scheduled into a hospital or a bank, big employers of women, as opposed to a factory or construction site.

The influence of women as women on the campaigns is a matter of considerable discussion and disagreement. "I never forget that half of the people in the audience are likely to be women," said Ms. Estrich. However, she added that "virtually every issue in this campaign is a women's issue."

Irene Natividad, the head of the National Women's Political Caucus, said, "I don't think it's an accident that this year, when you have so many women in campaign spots, child care is a sexy issue."

Ms. Lewis, who heads the Democratic task force of the caucus, noted that women's concerns had moved to the center of the broader national agenda. "We really have seen the mainstreaming of the message," she said.

For now, political women are still reflecting on the change in what was once very much a men's club. "When I first got involved in presidential politics, everybody I had to report to was male," said Donna Brazile, 28, the deputy campaign manager for Mr. Gephardt. "Now, they have to report to me."

"I'm somewhat intimidating to some of these young men," said Teresa Vilmain, 29, who is running Mr. Dukakis's campaign in Iowa. "They're not used to working for a woman."

U.S. Makers Adopt Rules On Whiskey

By Michael Weisskopf

WASHINGTON — The whiskey industry has agreed to limit levels of the cancer-causing substance urethane in its products starting in 1989, the Food and Drug Administration has announced.

Commissioner Frank E. Young said Monday the agreement to limit urethane to 125 parts per billion in whiskeys — scotch, bourbon, rye and various blends — is "appropriate" in view of the limited health data on urethane, a by-product of the fermentation and distillation process.

But consumer advocates said the standard accepted by the agency is too lenient to protect the public against an unacceptable cancer risk posed by urethane, and they criticized the agency for failing to regulate manufacturers of brands, liquors and wines that contain higher levels.

Urethane causes cancer in laboratory animals and is considered a potential human carcinogen. But the extent of cancer risk to humans is not known, Mr. Young said he has urged federal agencies to speed research on the chemical.

The Food and Drug Administration found urethane in 54 of 248 wines and liquors sampled 18 months ago, prompting an industry effort to reduce the contaminant. Although the substance can vary in concentrations among bottles of the same brand, it reached levels as high as 890 parts per billion in corn whiskey, 550 ppb in bourbon and 140 ppb in scotch, and 270 ppb in table wine. Many products were lower.

Nancy L. Buc, an attorney for the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, said that while the industry was unable to determine how urethane is produced, it has managed by "good old-fashioned trial and error" to limit the substance in whiskey to a maximum of 125 ppb. She insisted, however, that the agreement does not represent an acknowledgment of urethane health risks, which she said are hypothetical.

Bruce Silverglade, legal director of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, said the Food and Drug Administration considers it unacceptable if a substance increases the risk of cancer by one cancer per million people exposed, and the results of an agency study suggested that whiskey, at the 125 ppb limit, would exceed that.

Catholic Bishops in U.S. Shelve Paper on AIDS

By Ari L. Goldman

NEW YORK — In a rare policy retreat, Catholic bishops in the United States have set aside for now a paper on AIDS that gave qualified approval to teaching about condoms in educational programs.

Their decision to reopen the issue when all 300 bishops meet next spring is a significant victory for Cardinal John O'Connor of New York, one of the policy paper's most outspoken opponents, who disclosed the plans for such a review Monday.

The bishops routinely issue public statements such as the AIDS paper, but no one close to the process could recall an instance in recent years when they had reopened debate after the statement had been promulgated.

The paper, which dealt with a number of issues regarding acquired immune deficiency syndrome, has sharply divided the bishops, long opponents of artificial birth control, because it offered qualified approval for teaching about condoms in educational programs aimed at fighting the spread of the lethal disease.

The paper, "The Many Faces of AIDS: A Gospel Response," was issued earlier this month by the 50-member administrative board of the U.S. Catholic Conference. The board has the power to speak for the bishops between meetings.

The disclosure that the bishops would reopen the issue as a full body was made in an unusual press release from the office of Cardinal O'Connor. The release quoted a private letter to the bishops from the president of the Catholic Conference, Archbishop John L. May of St. Louis.

In the letter, dated Dec. 17, Archbishop May wrote: "I am sure that all of us are pained by the public reception of the document. It is clear to me that the administrative board's statement needs to be discussed in greater depth by the membership."

The archbishop wrote that he was placing the matter on the agenda at the next gathering of bishops in Collegeville, Minnesota, June 24-27. "Perhaps a classic disposition" on a few questions would help us clarify the situation," he wrote. A disposition is a teaching method commonly used in seminaries.

"We might then be able to agree on certain propositions which could be the basis for clear conference policy," he wrote.

A spokesman for the bishops in Washington, William Ryan, confirmed the text of the letter. "It is certainly to review the document," he said of the bishops plan to reopen discussion, "but not necessarily to re-do the document." Yet, he added, "anything is possible."

The 30-page position paper, issued in Washington on Dec. 10, tried to make it clear that it was not advocating the use of prophylactics. But it noted that in a "pluralistic society," where not everyone heeds the bishops' calls for sexual restraint, it was appropriate to teach that condoms can help prevent AIDS.

Cardinal O'Connor, who was in Rome the day the document was issued, criticized it severely soon after his return to New York. In a news conference at St. Patrick's Cathedral on Dec. 13, he warned that the paper would sow confusion among Catholics, and he said that he would not implement its recommendations in the New York archdiocese.

The cardinal also said that the issuance of the paper had been a "very grave mistake," and he added that had it gone to the full conference of bishops it would "unquestionably" have been defeated.

At the time, Cardinal O'Connor said that he had no indication that Vatican officials were aware of the paper. Although the Vatican has since received a copy, officials there have yet to comment publicly on its contents.



\$54 BILLION JOKE — Franksters "paid off" the Argentine foreign debt by leaving dozens of garbage bags stuffed with fake dollar bills on the steps of the central bank in Buenos Aires. The stunt Monday was organized by members of the Peronist opposition party.

20 U.S. States Allowed 65 MPH Limit

WASHINGTON — In a measure attached with little fanfare to the spending bill passed last week by Congress, 20 states will be allowed to increase the speed limit to 65 miles (105 kilometers) per hour on certain rural roads that meet the safety standards of interstate highways.

The first 20 states to apply will be allowed to raise the limit from the current speed of 55 mph, and seven have already acted: California, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky and Oklahoma.

Critics immediately warned that there would be a surge in highway fatalities. The measure allows the increase on divided rural highways that are not part of the interstate system but built to the same safety levels. Many of the highways in this cate-

gory are turnpikes and parkways that charge tolls. Earlier this month, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration reported that fatalities had risen 52 percent on interstate highways where speeds had been increased.

Although agency officials warned against drawing any conclusions about long-term trends from the figures, Representative James J. Howard, Democrat of New Jersey, who is chairman of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee, cited the data as he sought unsuccessfully to block the new proposal.

An aide said that Mr. Howard would have blocked the measure had it followed the normal legislative path of hearings and debate before the appropriate committees. It got through by going around Mr.

Howard's committee through adoption in the appropriations process, he said.

The 55 mph limit was instituted in the Carter administration as a fuel-saving measure, and the fatality rate declined. Many states, especially sparsely populated ones in the West, worked to have the limit increased to 65 for rural interstates, and they succeeded in April.

Shevardnadze to Visit Spain

MADRID — Eduard A. Shevardnadze, the Soviet Foreign Minister, is to pay his first official visit to Spain from Jan. 20 to 22, Spanish diplomatic sources said Tuesday. His visit is the first by a Soviet foreign minister since Andrei A. Gromyko came in February, 1983.

Young, Irish and Illegal in U.S. 150,000 Who Came for Jobs Live in Fear of Deportation

United Press International

BOSTON — Debbie, a young computer programmer, baby-sits Paul, an auto mechanic, works as a janitor. Theresa, once a schoolteacher, cleans houses.

They are among an estimated 150,000 young people who left Ireland for the United States in the past five years without work visas, fleeing a stagnant Irish economy and a 20-percent unemployment rate for a chance at a better life.

They came "on holiday" with tourist visas, showing immigration officials return tickets they later sold. Now, as illegal aliens, they live in limbo, never sure who to trust, fearing that deportation is just around the corner.

This exodus by Ireland's young people — to Australia, England and the United States — is the largest emigration wave since the Great Potato Famine brought two million people to the United States between 1845 and 1870.

Amnesty provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act allow illegal aliens who arrived in the United States before 1982 to apply for permanent resident status. The Irish wave did not begin until after that date.

In addition, sanctions under the law made it a crime for employers to knowingly hire illegal. That has made it more difficult for them to find work.

Josephine, 27, is from Cork. She and her husband, a bricklayer, came to Boston eight months ago. She works as a secretary. She got that job only because her employer did not understand the new I-9 employment eligibility verification form.

"The past couple of months it has all gone to hell because of the employer sanctions," Josephine said. "People back home think we're earning fortunes. We all have rents to pay and huge telephone bills because we like to call home. But it is better than going home, where there is nothing."

Among the estimated 20,000 to 25,000 undocumented Irish in Boston, Dublin-born and trained lawyers toil at construction jobs. Some nurses tend bar instead of the sick.

One young woman, interviewed in an Irish pub, graduated from college with a degree in chemistry. Instead of doing laboratory research, she waits on tables and cleans houses. "You've always got the fear, you're never sure who could give you away," she said. "Yet, I can't imagine going back home."

These underground Irish have

set up their own self-help network. They raise funds to press for immigration reform, to help those in legal jams, those who run up huge medical bills without health insurance protection.

It is not unusual for new arrivals — still seeking work — to share a one-bedroom apartment with six others. They change jobs and apartments frequently out of fear that the Immigration and Naturalization Service will find them.

Some never held a job before they left Ireland. Some are exploited by employers or landlords. "For every case of exploitation we've documented, there are literally thousands more," said Kieran Staunton, a young Irishman with legal resident status who works in

the Irish Immigration Reform Movement.

The Reform Movement, a non-partisan group, was started by undocumented Irish to press for amnesty for all illegal aliens now in the United States and for higher quotas for people from 36 countries denied non-preferential visas under the 1965 Immigration Act.

Mr. Staunton said that the 1986 immigration reform law "is an invitation to exploitation," adding: "Under-the-table jobs are few and far between. The employer knows that if you leave, you'll have a tough time getting another job."

"They tell you, 'No, you're not getting your raise. You're lucky to have a job.'"

Malay Party Chief Faces Trial Delay

New York Times Service

BANGKOK — Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia said Monday that the leader of the country's political opposition would be held for two years without charges or trial under the Internal Security Act, the government news agency reported.

Lim Kit Siang, secretary-general of the Democratic Action Party, was among 106 Malaysians arrested in late October and early November in a series of raids on po-

litical, social and environmental groups critical of government policies.

Fifty-five have been released so far. The government said the arrests, under an old law intended to deal with subversion, were necessary to reduce racial tensions.

Mr. Lim's party has attracted a large ethnic Chinese following, drawing Chinese support from Mr. Mahathir's National Front coalition.

PUBLICATION JUDICIAIRE

IMITATION ILLICITE DE LA MARQUE



DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CHANEL

Par un jugement en date du 29 mai 1987, le Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris.

— Or que la fabrication, l'offre en vente et la vente, par la société ANSLINE et par les ETS OBERHUR, des boutons constitués de deux C entrecroisés en sens contraires, l'ouverture vers l'extérieur, pris isolément ou en tant qu'éléments d'un tour de taille, tels que décrits au procès-verbal de constat du 15 mai 1985, constituent l'imitation illicite des marques n° 928 201 et n° 1.123.953 dont est titulaire la société CHANEL.

— Condamne la société ANSLINE et les ETS OBERHUR à payer à la société CHANEL la somme de 30.000 F (TRENTE MILLE FRANCS) à titre de dommages et intérêts et la somme de 4.000 F (QUATRE MILLE FRANCS) en application de l'article 700 du nouveau Code de procédure civile.

— Fait interdiction aux sociétés ANSLINE et ETS OBERHUR de fabriquer, mettre en vente et vendre lesdits boutons, sous peine de 100 F (CENT FRANCS) par infraction constatée.

— Autorise la société CHANEL à faire publier le dispositif du présent jugement dans trois revues ou journaux de son choix.

— Ordonne l'exécution provisoire du présent jugement, en ce qui concerne les mesures d'interdiction sous contrainte.

Chile Summons Envoy To Protest U.S. Moves

SANTIAGO — The Foreign Ministry summoned the U.S. ambassador on Monday night to protest economic sanctions against Chile adopted recently by Washington, saying they constituted interference in Chilean affairs.

The ambassador, Harry Barnes, was called to the ministry for a "verbal protest."

"I explained that these activities and attitudes were not contributing to Chile's move toward democracy," Foreign Minister Ricardo Garcia said.

The military government of President Augusto Pinochet has been angered by the decision of the Reagan administration, announced Dec. 24, to suspend preferential trade treatment to Chile, affecting about \$60 million in annual exports to the United States.

The United States said the move was in retaliation for a crackdown on worker rights in Chile. President Ronald Reagan also laid out a series of conditions he said should be met to ensure legitimacy for the presidential vote that



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Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Spain in the Alliance

The question of American bases in Spain is in the news. Eager to join the West after the Franco decades, Spain entered NATO in the 1980s. With conditions: It refused to join NATO's integrated command or to admit nuclear weapons on its territory, and it insisted on a "balancing" reduction of the existing Franco-made U.S. military presence. Now it seeks to remove three squadrons of American F-16s whose mission is, in crisis time, to take nuclear weapons from elsewhere and confront the Soviet Union. The United States has been hoping to keep some of the planes on Spanish soil.

Madrid is not the first member to want NATO's full protection and benefits at reduced cost. Nor is it the first to hold that it alone should determine the burdens and that the political convenience of the pact should be government's main concern. As it happens, after General Franco died in 1975, Spain's friends were quite willing to indulge the special requirements of democracy. So Spain was from the start something of an alliance freeloader.

As leader of the alliance, the United States cannot avoid concern over what are the terms of others' participation in the common defense and how those terms are arranged. Leadership always comes down to balancing an assertion of American interests against a respect for others' interests and sensibilities. Over the years, Americans have done an extraordinarily good job of it, if you can stand back from the routine static and survey the general vigor.

But it is not ordained that this will continue, and meanwhile the alliance is entering a demanding phase. With the INF treaty, the nuclear equation is starting to be rewritten. With the Soviet Union embarked on a peace offensive and the United States soliciting greater European burden-sharing, NATO's political equation could change too. That makes it foolish for Spain to act in the '70s way, on the premise that national convenience dominates, rather than make the extra '80s effort to work out adjustments within the alliance as a whole.

Spain is democratic now. Europe is healthy, with a population and product larger than those of either "great" power. Yet Americans carry their old inflated share of defense burdens, least of all unilaterally. Imagine their reaction if America had gone unilaterally and pulled out its F-16s. Ostensibly Madrid's negotiation is with Washington, but it is the other Europeans who have the greatest incentive to bring the current lesson of collective security home to Spain.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

No One Is Fooled

The Democrats badly need a candidate whom people will find credible, one with what the Romans called gravitas, meaning seriousness, intellect and moral weight. What they have instead are candidates with gravel-tail, by which we mean exactly what you think we do: a pandering refusal to acknowledge that any of the party's constituent groups will have to pay in anything to get America out of its present fiscal mess.

No one is fooled. Everyone can do the math. The country has been on an eight-year binge of the purest bubble, the budget deficit, which is the best measure of this, is at a level never before experienced; in certain ways it may be quite literally out of control. The president has spent not only his own share of federal revenues but a sizable percentage of his successor's as well. The cash drawer contains only IOUs.

There will need to be a sizable tax increase in the next administration just to maintain current services. The face-saving trifle in the present deficit reduction plan will not do it. To bring fiscal policy out of the red zone while expanding certain services, as all the Democratic presidential candidates say they would do, there will have to be an even greater tax increase or some offsetting spending cuts. But the candidates — with the exception of Bruce Babbitt, who is so far last that it seems not to matter — will not con-

front this unpleasant task that lies before them. They have been Mordred: You say the T-word and you die. They love nothing more than to talk about all the heady, good things they would do as president. They hate to talk about how they would pay for it. Not just here; they basically refuse.

For example, Senator Paul Simon is an advocate not just of increased spending but of a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. The best this liberal Democrat can come up with is a "possible revenue increase" — if that is truly needed, you understand — is an oil import fee that would mainly benefit the domestic oil industry. Shades of prairie populism.

Governor Michael Dukakis doesn't like that idea, which would fall hardest on his native New England. His brave proposal is to step up enforcement of existing tax law. And the deadbeats shall lead you. You remember how Ronald Reagan was going to balance the budget painlessly? He was going to eliminate all that awful waste, fraud and abuse on the spending side. This is the Democratic equivalent, on the tax side.

The Democrats are unmanaging themselves on this issue. Worse, by being alternately mousy and dishonest they are reducing their chances both of being elected and of governing effectively if they are elected.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Resetting, Resetting

Until Ed Greif, Herman T. Baron and Max Lowenthal went public with their strategies for turning electronic clocks backward and forward, it may have been the rare American who gave much thought to how hard it has become to change time in this age of technological convenience. To read the Greif-Baron-Lowenthal correspondence in the letters column of The New York Times, however, is to think of little else.

It began in November with Mr. Greif's letter about the trouble it took to move his clocks from daylight to standard time. The radio alarm had to be reset not one but 23 hours; so did two thermostats, three timers on light fixtures, the coffee-maker and his and his wife's wristwatches. On the Monday after fall-back Sunday, he discovered that 12 telephone extensions in his office also had to be reset, as did the facsimile machine. The fax strangled him.

Soon Mr. Baron wrote in to offer the frustrated Mr. Greif "an extremely simple solution." On Sunday morning when the

clocks are to be set back, "I simply release the master switch in the fuse box for exactly one hour, and — voila! — all the clocks and assorted gadgets are immediately correct."

Not so fast, said the next correspondent, Mr. Lowenthal. Mr. Baron's solution, he wrote, "is in good part without merit." Yes, it works for old-fashioned electric clocks, "but it does not apply to modern electronic devices without battery backup ... which will react to a power interruption by going to hysterical mode, blinking, screaming or sending a nasty message."

So Mr. Greif, then, is right back where he started, surrounded by a bunch of clocks — in stoves, computers, calculators, VCRs and other marvels — that will go bananas if he makes the wrong move.

What is the remedy? Perhaps there is enough market here among frustrated households to prompt someone to invent and market a new electronic marvel: Touch it once and it sets every clock in the house.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

For an Afghan Settlement

The trouble with Afghanistan is that it is one of the world's most impoverished, turbulent countries, sitting smack on the Soviet Union's sensitive southern flank. It has never been a tranquil bastion of democracy. Its politics are medieval. Nine years ago, the ruling Afghan Communists began playing out yet another feud. One leader died, then another. The Russian tanks appeared in no evident spirit of conquest, but rather to patch together a regime they could live with.

It is time to be honest. The West has an interest in starting the pot, but it also increasingly has an interest in better relations with the Soviet Union. An agreement came tantalizingly close at the Washington summit meeting. It is still there for the taking.

—The Guardian (London).

The Gulf: Arab Unity Grows

The Arab states of the Gulf appear deeply worried about the possible expansionism of Iran and for the first time are asking the Soviet Union to play a role in bringing peace to the region. (Other Arab states) have been playing a behind-the-scenes role in trying to end the Gulf war.

The Blacks Who Kill Blacks

It is hard not to have some sympathy with white South Africans who contrast the international outrage expressed whenever the security forces kill blacks in the townships with the muted reaction in the West toward the bloody warring between black political factions. But it would be foolish for the South African authorities to believe, as some clearly do, that interracial black violence strengthens the case for apartheid, for tribal as well as racial separation. Unrest in townships throughout the country can only be effectively brought under control when blacks have the ability to express their political views through peaceful means.

—The Independent (London).

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OPINION

Deny Hope and You're Sure to Get Trouble

By Flora Lewis

LONDON — Although the Arab states punished Egypt with ostracism, there was a degree of wary euphoria among Palestinians when the Camp David peace treaty was signed in 1979. It provided for autonomy in the Israeli-occupied territories for five years, in the hope that a cooling-off period would produce new habits and new attitudes that could lead to a Palestinian-Israeli agreement.

At the time it was suggested to some Israelis that they would have much to gain by unilaterally proclaiming some moves toward autonomy

'They have nothing more to lose but their frustrations. You see it in those burning eyes.'

and liberalization before the difficult negotiations began. That could have created a climate of expectation. But the Israeli government of Menachem Begin had no such intentions. On the contrary, the autonomy negotiations soon broke down and were abandoned. Israeli settlement in the occupied territories was accelerated. Mr. Begin made clear that he had no thought of ceding any land at any time, only some limited rights.

Eventually, for its own needs, Israel did replace military government with civilian administrations. It allowed some local elections, but mayors were deposed when the occupation found them too vigorous in representing their constituents.

So the situation was left to not while the powers mumbled about peace plans and international conferences. Nothing changed on the horizon, and that is why there is so much turmoil among

Palestinian Arabs now and so much concern among Israelis. In fact, there was a change of attitudes, much for the worse. That was the legacy of intransigence and frustration.

It is not an accident that the outbursts of violence come now, a generation after the Israelis won control of the territories in the 1967 war. The young Palestinian rioters did not experience the frenzy of war and the bitterness of defeat, only the fury of living under occupation. They watched the PLO being evicted from Lebanon after the 1982 war and saw it retreat to unending, sterile posturing with no credible plan for settlement.

Only now, after all these years, has the PLO even begun to talk of the possibility of establishing a government-in-exile that could announce a will to negotiate, to move ahead. And that still has not happened and probably will not because its councils are divided among those who would seek compromise and those who call any will to compromise treason. The Palestinians on the land see nothing coming there.

And now, at the recent summit meeting in Amman, the Arab states have declared the Iran-Iraq war to be their first priority. Nothing for the Palestinians to expect from them, either. As an Arab woman in Europe said, watching films of the rioting: "They have nothing more to lose but their frustrations. You see it in those burning eyes."

Despite the official line about "outside agitators," it is clear that the shebab (kids) have decided to try taking their fate in their own hands because they have nowhere else to look. That is what led to the foundation of the PLO in the first place. It was a decision to "do it ourselves," as a young Jerusalem

Arab woman told me in the 1960s, "because the Arab states will never do it for us."

The Israeli army, organized to defend against invasion and intrusion, is not trained or equipped to deal with unarmed civil disorder. That is why casualties have been so alarmingly high.

The violence is also a legacy of the failure to see that the situation could only deteriorate when there were no prospects, no glimmering of movement toward a settlement. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has said that "only a political, peaceful diplomatic settlement" could break the impasse. Fine words, but when he was prime minister he did not take the actions necessary to promote it, and they are probably not possible now with passions running so high.

There should be no illusion that the pause of exhaustion will diminish the young Palestinians' determination to make Israel and the world see that they will not accept what they are physically unable to change. The trouble will only fester.

But neither is this a time for minor, begrudging concessions to aspirations which can only be inflamed by tentative measures.

The time cries out for moral leadership on both sides of the Israeli-Arab divide. It may be too late to go back to the original meaning of Camp David, the meaning Mr. Begin distorted, which did offer hope for a settlement. But some beacon promising a way out of the deadlock is essential.

Otherwise, the sorrowful words of the Israeli writer Amos Kenan will come to resound with tragic reality. He said last week: "In the heart of a dark sea, I cling to a floating plank, and a pitiless current carries me away. Far from the receding shores of the Promised Land." He understands. When history denies hope, it begets monstrosity.

The New York Times.

It Isn't Enough to Wait for Peace to Come Along

By Arthur M. Schindler

NEW YORK — There simply is no gentler democratic way to keep a restive population of more than one million people in check. This is the lesson Israel is learning to its sorrow, in Gaza, Judea and Samaria. Only force will restrain a people living under military occupation, no matter how benign. That is the only way to keep a refractory population under permanent rule — with force, spies and the political power that comes from the barrel of a gun.

Is that what Israel must do to preserve its security? The Arab states have suddenly rediscovered their common enemy: Israel. The nations of the world are again demonstrating self-righteousness by pointing an accusing finger at the Jewish state. And Israel's friends are embarrassed and distressed by films and news reports of Israeli troops firing at Palestinian civilians, many of them young.

Perhaps most serious, the proliferation of the status quo in the territories threatens Israel's quintessential nature. It sows the seeds of endless conflict. It corrodes the Jewish and democratic character of the state. It is a time bomb ticking

away at Israel's vital center and threatening to shatter its being. How so? Because sooner or later this will produce an Arab majority in Israel, making Israel at best a bi-national state with the balance of power shifting precariously between Moslem and Jew. And if Israel tries to extricate itself from this dilemma by either repressing the Arabs or driving them out, as Meir Kahane would have it, Israel's Jewish and democratic nature will be disfigured and the Zionist dream betrayed.

There is only one solution and that is the relentless pursuit of all avenues to peace, including through international participation. Such an approach, especially as defined and limited by an agreement last spring between King Hussein and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, poses less risk for Israel than stagnation.

Under their plan, the radical Palestine Liberation Organization would be excluded from Jordan's delegation. All prospective conveners must agree to recognize Israel. Their sole purpose would be to legitimize direct negotiations between

Jordan and Israel. And they would be barred from intervening in any direct talks or imposing a settlement without the consent of all parties.

These terms cannot compel Israel to accept unsafe conditions. In the event of a breach of the accord, Israel need simply leave the table, risking opprobrium but not its security.

It is worth remembering that not a single agreement has been reached between Israel and its neighbors without international mediation, from the Rhodes truce agreement that ended the war of independence in 1949 to the first and second Sinai agreements following the Yom Kippur War, through Camp David. None of this is to say that only Israel is to blame. The Palestinian Arabs are the victims of self-proclaimed leaders who have consistently chosen violent rejection over peaceful accommodation, beginning with their refusal to accept a homeland and national self-determination as contained in the United Nations Palestine partition plan of 1947.

They also have been betrayed by the rest of the Arab world, including

The writer, a rabbi, is president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, an organization of Reform Judaism. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

A Cartoonist Sounds Off: What About Competition In Quality and Service?

By Herbert Block

DEAR Candidate: I understand you fellows like to get a feel of what the voters are concerned about. I can tell you about some things that concern me besides front-page items. For the last few years we Americans have been hearing a lot about what a great power we are, and we're number one, and it's morning in America, and we're the greatest. I haven't traveled enough to know how it is in all other countries, but I know how it used to be here.

There are lots of things missing besides nickel candy bars and penny licorice. You used to be able to mail a letter for less than 22 cents and expect it to get across town in a day — special delivery, if you wanted it there next morning.

They don't even have special delivery any more — it would probably just slow up service while they waited for a kid with a bike. Now you can get first-class letters many days late. You can still get overnight service — for about 11 bucks. But you have to take it to a post office.

Meanwhile, the junk mail piles up. A lot of not-very-personal first-class mail comes from businesses that get special low rates from the postal department. They can't tell me all this stuff doesn't slow up the real letters from real people to other real people. It does, and I can see it on the postmarks. I also see it on invitations mailed in plenty of time which arrive after the events.

You used to be able to get on a plane and expect it to take off on time and at least come close to arriving on time. Have you gone anywhere by plane lately? You know what I'm talking about. Derogation shmerogation. Don't tell me we can't do anything to get travel back on schedule in this country.

We're now down to one major bus line. And trains aren't what they used to be, either. If the railroads were improved, maybe more people would ride them, and they would even take some of the load off the planes. I

understand that in Europe and Japan they have trains that go like hell. Canada has some fine ones, too. We're not number one in travel, are we?

Autos — they're our biggest form of transportation. Have you tried to get your services lately — at a decent price? Most of my friends are buying imports. They say these run better, last longer and need less servicing. We hear a lot about "competitiveness," which seems to be kind of a synonym for protectionism. What about competitiveness in quality?

And what about telephones? Since the breakup of the old phone company, I get so many bills with so many itemizations for so many special charges that soon they'll have to send these bills bound like books. We spend more money on outgoing calls and more time with unwelcome incoming calls. The junk-phone solicitations, like the junk mail, keep coming.

The TV ads tell us that the price is back. O.K., I'm all for price. It's fine that there is pride in the military service, for example. But how about everyday nonmilitary, just plain service — the old customer-is-right idea. Private service and government service have not been number one lately.

And speaking of government, something else that bothers me: What about NASA? What happened to America's once-spectacular space program? What happened to safety precautions and backup systems and all? Private companies in America have negotiated with China about launching satellites into space for them. China! And the Russians have taken ads in American newspapers to tell us that their launch service is the most reliable for us to use. Talk about competitiveness! Well, I'll bet we're still number one in ad agencies, anyhow.

I'd breathe easier if I didn't keep reading about crime. Most of it seems to involve handguns. In addition to smog and tobacco smoke, we have lots of gunsmoke. In all the world, we're absolutely and unquestionably number one in guns and gun fatalities.

Debt and Deficits Limit Global Ambitions

LAST month several U.S. congressmen wrote President Reagan urging him to launch a "multiyear, multinational, multibillion-dollar Marshall Plan" to save the Philippine government. The congressmen thus indirectly pointed out new limits on the power of the United States.

In 1947, Greece turned to Britain for reconstruction aid. But Britain itself was broke, ruined in a war that capped a long economic decline. The United States, by contrast, was then the world's great productive center.

Now the Philippines looks to the United States. But America, like Britain 40 years ago, finds itself in no condition to help. The congressmen call for an extra \$1 billion a year in aid to the Philippines, and there are excellent reasons to give it. But the resources are not there. And just as Britain had to look to America, Americans today must look to wealthy Japan.

This small example makes one thing clear: Deficits have consequences. Indebtedness clamps real limits on power. Financial failings undercut global ambitions.

—Stephen D. Wraga, associate professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, writing in the Los Angeles Times.



"Trade restrictions make imports cost more. Then we COMPETE — we boost our prices to match."

ies. Maybe you fellows in government can do something about this. I don't like the feeling that we're like some shoot-'em-up frontier town or a ho-hum banana republic.

We also seem to be number one in stock trading and greenmail and things like that. I don't know much about Wall Street or how those big deals are made. But I know about places I live. In the area where I travel, several Safeway stores have closed. That happened after a takeover threat where the fellows who threatened the takeover walked off with more than \$100 million. So we have fewer stores, and a lot of people who worked in them are now unemployed.

Big gamblers used to talk about keeping the grocery clerks out. I guess that's what some of the financial gamblers are doing. Clerks' jobs and stores — consumers too. Somebody has to pay for that \$100 million, right?

If somebody can pick up that kind of money from being clever with computers, we ought to have people in government smart enough to figure how to stop that kind of game. At one time some snobbish people in Europe used to call the United States a nation of dollar-chasers; they talked about the "almighty dollar." It wasn't true then, but now maybe it is.

The big shots have often talked about how poor people have needed to develop a work ethic. A lot of high rollers have developed what I'd call a greed ethic. I guess that combination of words is what some would call an oxymoron, but it fits. Well, if you're elected, I'd like you to do something about the greed ethic. I know you can't do everything, but you can

make a beginning. You can set a tone.

You can talk about a service ethic.

You can keep in mind Harry Truman's words: The buck stops here.

And you can add something else: Anything-for-a-buck stops now.

The writer, better known as Herblock, the Washington Post editorial cartoonist, has won three Pulitzer Prizes. This comment is excerpted from his new book "Herblock at Large."

Don't Take Your Peace For Granted

By William Pfaff

PARIS — A Christmas and New Year's season when the Holy Land itself has been in uproar, experiencing rebellion and repression, gives cause for reflection on the fragility of the peace in which most of the readers of this column have the good fortune to live.

We are really very lucky people. The peace enjoyed today by North Americans, most Europeans, the people of Japan and Oceania, is, historically speaking, an exceptional state of affairs. Forty-five years ago all of us were in the midst of a savage world war.

Forty years ago there were nationalist struggles in Asia. In Eastern Europe the systematic destruction of all independent national political institutions was under way, and of independent culture and intellectual life. Europe and Japan were still largely in ruins. The Arab-Israeli war was about to explode. The war in Korea was a little more than two years away.

Thirty years ago the first war between the Indochinese and a Western power was over, but another, bigger one was on its way. The second Arab-Israeli war was finished but a third one was developing. Algerians had risen against France, and Africans south of the Sahara against their colonizers. There had been revolution in Iran, aborted by a CIA intervention. The Hungarian revolution had been put down by Soviet armor.

Twenty years ago a crisis point was about to arrive in the American war in Vietnam, beginning what was to be a long and anguished withdrawal. Israel and the Arabs had fought again, and Israel had taken the territories whose populations are in rebellion today.

A decade ago, political terrorism was a major phenomenon in Europe and the Mediterranean. Lebanon's terrible struggle had begun. The U.S.S.R. would intervene in Angola by way of Cuban forces, and, two years later, would invade Afghanistan. Israel was four years away from invading Lebanon. The shadow of religious revolution lay over Iran.

Today, the Afghanistan war goes on. Iran and Iraq are at war. There are ideological and ethnic struggles in Latin America and Asia. There is risk of a Lebanese kind of disintegration elsewhere in the Arab world. Israel binds itself ever more tightly into demoralizing contradictions that threaten, in the long run, to destroy it. In Africa, old agricultural systems and social structures have been ruined, and chaos as well as starvation are gaining.

At the same time, new leaders of the Soviet Union are attempting to deal rationally with the country's deepening problems. America's relations with Russia and with China are, arguably, their best since the war. Europe is at peace. Japan's stability is unshaken.

The democracies are islands in a sea of disorder and unhappiness. They are better off than a decade ago, certainly better off than in 1947. But there are no grounds for confidence that they will be even better off a decade hence. The French ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss said of human progress that "in certain epochs and in certain places" certain forms of progress have undoubtedly occurred, "probably ... paid for by regression in other domains." There is nothing in recent history to persuade one that man's conduct improves.

There is cause to argue that the most urgent responsibility for those in the privileged countries is to keep things from getting worse. The United States has always had a powerful belief in progress, possible because Americans have been mostly spared from great catastrophes. This is a national strength but also a national danger; it sustains a willingness to run risks and to employ violence in matters where other governments might draw back. Yet all of the democracies are complacent, prepared to run economic risks, if not military ones, to suit the national interest and ego.

Year's end is supposed to be a time to reflect on values and on where we are headed. This usually is stated in personal or family terms. But we lucky few also have a responsibility toward those on the other side — who are not rich, are without peace, unprotected, uncomfortable and uncompensated.

We have an obligation not to make it worse for them. If we cannot or will not feed the hungry and heal the sick, we can at least restrain from killing the poor, or impoverishing the innocent. We might even feel a certain responsibility, "nearest to naked earth" than we, as the poet Roy Campbell said, are those who eventually "over the toppled gods and falling flowers ... plow down pastures, and thrones, and towers."

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100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1887: Abyssinian Plan

CAIRO — A telegraphic despatch received here from Massowah states that the plan of operation of the Negus is to advance rapidly against the Italians with 50,000 men, while Ras Gallas tribes, numbering 40,000 men, will form a reserve army ready to attack in case the Negus is defeated. It is said to be quite certain that the army of the Negus is well supplied with artillery and with other arms of precision. The Abyssinians are sweeping the country bare and are confident of victory.

1912: For a Quiet Eve

NEW YORK — An organization has been formed for the prevention of unusual frivolity on New Year's Eve. A statement by the committee said: "New York's manner of welcoming the New Year has come to be a kind of rough-housing that found its expression last year in the slogan we

heard in the street, 'To — with the old year, hooray for the new!' We believe that our people are tired of this and will be glad to join in a better and saner way more worthy of their city. To that end a New Year's Eve Committee has come together to arrange for instrumental music and singing of the old songs in two of three of the public squares along Broadway in the midnight hour. The people will be expected to join in."

1937: U.S. Pacific Patrol

SAN DIEGO — Installation of the United States Navy's Pacific Ocean bomber patrol, which was to have been started in February, has been advanced to about the middle of January. It is believed that the original patrol of 12 huge, heavily armed flying boats may be augmented by six additional planes. The addition is said to be in view of the Far Eastern tension. The patrol would be capable of intercepting an attacking fleet hundreds of miles from the coast.

OPINION

AIDS Is Everyone's Affair, Whatever the Foolish Say

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — For a few weeks recently I had a chance that people in the news business rarely get — to read the newspapers and watch news broadcasts without any sense of urgency, responsibility or competitiveness.

I knew I would be out, convalescing from surgery, for at least three weeks and there wasn't a thing I could do about the news, except to think a little. It was not the sense of remoteness you get on vacation, since I was in New York and newspapers and magazines were all

tics, compassion, self-protection. It is a story that is everybody's business. Even though the threat to society is so great — or probably because it is — AIDS not only creates rage against those who have it but bigotry so poisonous that it is positively blinding. Writer after writer in America denies the possibility that one day we will find it widely transmitted heterosexually, even though they know that it is happening in tens of thousands of cases in Africa.

The implication, of course, is that heterosexually transmitted AIDS will somehow remain peculiar to Africans and that they will be considerably enough not to travel abroad or sleep with tourists. Then we won't have to worry at all about the disaster of AIDS in Africa; that will be their problem.

AIDS specialists in Europe to whom I have talked see this refusal to recognize at least the possibility of heterosexual transmission on a large scale outside Africa as incomprehensibly stupid.

Headline on an AIDS article: The victims of today will be the victims of tomorrow. Translation: If you are not gay or a junkie and do not make love with them, don't worry.

Let's suppose that is true, which it is not. It simply means that AIDS will more and more become a ghetto disease. Since educated homosexuals are practicing "safe" sex, in time all we will have left as victims will be poor, ignorant homosexuals and bisexuals and narcotics addicts and their partners; we know who they are, don't we?

Plus, of course, the children of addicts. But kids with AIDS die young, so we won't have to worry about them growing up to spread the disease, you see.

We also have gay publications that keep warning homosexuals not to take the HIV test, and print advertisements from prostitutes promising anal intercourse, presumably for gay readers interested in suicide or Russian roulette.

But something aside from bigotry is growing in America: compassion and the willingness to change.

Roman Catholic bishops say that they cannot agree with the morality of contraception but that it is even less moral to forbid teaching about condoms for those who do not follow their teaching.

A new vision of morality is not restricted to the clergy. Homosexuals around the country write letters saying they agree that if they have the virus they may be able to have some forms of sex with unaffected gay partners but never again anal or oral intercourse.

And young doctors decide to become AIDS specialists. They do it without heroics. They want to make their patients' lives a little better, a little longer, which is what doctors are supposed to do, as they understand it. Perhaps one patient will live to the day of success.

The New York Times.

ON MY MIND

over the room. It was more like sitting in a stadium, watching the action, which is entirely different from watching the same players from the press box.

Just before I returned to work, I played a little professional game with myself. Among all those thousands of news stories read, what did you really look for, not just come across? What stories did you tear out to keep, make notes to write about someday? Was there a particular field that you wanted to know more about, so you could tell others? (Journalists call events, trivial or historic, "stories" because we really are tellers of tales and to us there is no point in knowing or learning if we can't run out and tell somebody. That is just the way we are; go ask a psychiatrist why.)

The answer came immediately — not foreign affairs, not the election campaign or the summit meeting, but a story most people still find too unpleasant to talk or think about consistently, AIDS.

And just as quickly I knew why. Partly because it will cause so many hundreds of thousands of deaths — despite what seems to be a new cottage industry of writing which minimizes the worldwide impact of AIDS and preaches that it really is for those others, not us.

But it was also because I knew that the AIDS story touched, as very few subjects do, on things important to every one of us: love and sex, fear, religion, law, duty, morality, race, money, polit-

Preaching Is Not Enough

AN outspoken voice saying the solution to the AIDS threat is abstinence is that of the presidential candidate Pat Robertson. In acknowledging premarital sex experience, he said: "I have never indicated that in the early part of my life I didn't sow some wild oats. I sowed plenty of them. But I also said that Jesus Christ came into my life, changed my life and forgave me." But AIDS does not forgive. And it is hard to understand why teenagers will listen any better to pleas for abstinence than Mr. Robertson did back when premarital sex was less accepted.

— Neil R. Schram, an internist, in the Los Angeles Times.



Madonna and Child

Taken In by 'the Japanese'

Regarding "Japan: Practice Democracy Instead of Imitating It?" (Dec. 10):

In between his disquisitions on Socrates and Nietzsche, Richard Nations has boldly indicted "the Japanese" on the ground that they only feign a commitment to democracy in order to maintain their "good relations with the United States." Mr. Nations backs this up by claiming that they are not interested in "abstractions such as the human race" and are only concerned with "feeling the pulse of things" and preserving the "Japanese spirit" — sentiments bound by blood, soil and the emperor.

It is indeed true that one of Japan's favorite national pastimes is a discourse that awkwardly seeks to explain the "reasons" why, as many Japanese frequently put it, they are "absolutely different from everyone else." Regrettably, however,

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

Mr. Nations has himself been unwittingly taken in by the myths of racial and cultural homogeneity that underscore the potency of this discourse, and which he presumably wants to criticize.

This is revealed by his unconsciously confusing the blatantly exceptionalist ideology standing at the heart of this discourse with the mythical entity he and others call "the Japanese." Those who use this kind of language frequently approach the members of Japanese society as if they were interchangeable parts of a seamless, monolithic entity, beings devoid of individuality and who, ultimately, think and act in a single unified fashion. In doing so they ironically reproduce many of the conceits they start out attempting to attack and, as a consequence of their willingness to traffic in these highly wishful representations of Japan, commit two major mistakes.

First, they blind themselves to the significance of those individuals and groups within Japanese society that are deeply committed to the democratic values contained in "abstractions such as the human race," and who, since the end of World War II, have continuously opposed the exceptionalist values Mr. Nations has rightly identified with the ideology of "blood, soil and the emperor."

Secondly, they lend support to those

Come, Walk Through Parque Belle Vista

By Samuel Abt

RIO DE JANEIRO — Somebody with a malicious sense of wit must have named it Parque Belle Vista. Or perhaps 10, 20 or 30 years ago — no one seems sure when it was first settled — there indeed was a lovely view over Rio de Janeiro. Not now.

Today the only vista is squalid: a foul creek, a series of muddy lanes and cinder-block shanties. Parque Belle Vista is a favela, a slum, one of dozens of slum settlements in Rio.

Five thousand people live in this favela, which covers part of a hillside in the city's north. In all Rio, with its population near seven million, between one and two million people live in favelas. Again, no one seems to be certain of the number, for it increases each day.

Parque Belle Vista is not altogether a typical settlement. With 200,000 inhabitants, the Rocinha favela in southern Rio is far larger, with the Rio Sheraton Hotel across the road as its neighbor. The favela favela is closer to life deluxe. Vidigal also offers the view that Parque Belle Vista evokes: out over Guanabara Bay, the arm of the Atlantic that deceived the Portuguese into thinking they had discovered a vast river, a *rio*, when they sailed in during January, *Janeiro*, of 1502.

Come, walk through Parque Belle Vista, as a few dozen foreign visitors did one recent afternoon. Watch out for slippery planks that sink in pools of water at the corners. Ignore the occasional skinny dog that barks and quickly retreats to bark again. Discount the warnings about the dangers of crime in the favela, about the alert that is silently

sounded on the hill at the approach of outsiders. "It is not the slumdweller who is dangerous," said the social worker, "it is the exploiters. The lack of government aid to the favelas encourages the exploiters — those are the dangerous ones."

No exploiters are to be seen this day, or perhaps the foreigners cannot recognize them. Few adults are about; most have gone down the hill to low-paying

MEANWHILE

jobs, often on the underground economy. It is common, a journalist said, for a family to have one adult on the regular economy — earning a legal wage, paying taxes, gaining social security coverage — and others on the black economy, giving nothing to the state and getting nothing back. The underground artisan class, these are the people to see if a car needs repairing or a house needs painting.

Surely the exploiters are not the children, who are everywhere. The children in the lanes are no older than 10 or 12 and they do not beg or wheedle. They dance around the visitors, smiling and pleased to be asked to pose for a photograph. Two boys, each wearing one shoe of a pair, kick a deflated soccer ball back and forth. Soccer is a traditional way out of a favela and the legend of Pele, the Black Pearl, drives the boys as they move the ball from foot to foot to chest to head, then back to foot for a snap shot. On the beaches of Rio, boys play

volleyball without ever using their hands. The smallest children congregate in a day care center, watched over by a handful of teachers, social workers and a dentist. Until the age of 4, the children get a monthly allotment of milk, flour and rice; the supervisor assumes that the food is shared by the child's family. Crudely crayoned drawings decorate the center's walls. There is electricity and running water. Across the lane is a factory — light machinery, somebody said — that is trying to expand into the favela, which is, after all, a community of squatters.

At the end of the lane is a large, brickish pool of water, almost a marsh. This is the communal laundry, as lines of jeans and shirts show. The homes consist of one or two rooms with an occasional black and white television set at their center. For anybody who has traveled in Asia or Africa, this favela is not the worst of poverty: At \$600, per capita annual income in Brazil is four times that in Bangladesh. Even considering the garbage heaped along the banks of the creek, the smell of this favela is not unbearable.

Up this lane and around that corner — the visit is ended. There, parked by a jacaranda tree, is the sightseeing bus that brought the foreigners. Before they go, the children crowd around for a final look, and two of them pass out sheets of paper. What they want are autographs, something to remember us by, something to prove we were there. As the sheets of paper signed with our names and countries testify, the favela Parque Belle Vista is part of the wide world.

International Herald Tribune.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

States has supported the diplomatic initiatives undertaken by Prince Sihanouk. In a message sent just prior to the prince's meeting with Prime Minister Hun Sen, Secretary of State George Shultz stated that "I fully endorse your efforts and have the greatest confidence in and respect for your dedication to the struggle for a free and independent Cambodia."

STEVEN PLATZER, Tokyo.

No Aid to the Khmer Rouge

In "Cambodia: One Obstacle Is Crossed, Many Remain" (Dec. 11), Elizabeth Becker asserts that "China, Thailand and the United States together rebuilt the Khmer Rouge forces." This is incorrect. The attitude of the U.S. government toward the murderous Khmer Rouge is well known. We abhor the crimes of the Khmer Rouge while in power, we have no contact with the movement and we oppose its return to power in Cambodia.

The U.S. government does not now and has not in the past, provided any support or assistance to the Khmer Rouge forces. The United States does provide support to the noncommunist resistance forces of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, but measures are taken to assure that none of this support is available to the Khmer Rouge.

It is also noteworthy that the United

States has supported the diplomatic initiatives undertaken by Prince Sihanouk. In a message sent just prior to the prince's meeting with Prime Minister Hun Sen, Secretary of State George Shultz stated that "I fully endorse your efforts and have the greatest confidence in and respect for your dedication to the struggle for a free and independent Cambodia."

WILLIAM A. BROWN, Ambassador, U.S. Embassy, Bangkok.

Russia's Changing Borders

H. Koning is mistaken in asserting (Letters, Dec. 15) that "there is no historical foundation" for Donag Macgregor's statement that the Soviet state is involved in a "long-term effort to dominate Eurasia" ("Gorbachev Isn't About to Start His Army," Dec. 4). The reason the Soviet Union's present European boundary is well to the east of its line in 1914 is that Poland, by that year, had long ceased to exist as a result of the series of 18th- and 19th-century partitions, the last of which (in 1815) brought the Russian border to the west of Warsaw.

In the 19th century the Russian attempts to dominate the Balkans (for example, the suppression of the 1849-49

Hungarian uprising), Turkey and the Bosphorus were thwarted — although to some extent thwarted by the result of the Crimean War. The whole of Turkey was gobbled up in that century, and only the presence of British troops on the northwest frontier of India prevented the Russian occupation of Afghanistan. The attempt to seize Manchuria and Korea in 1904 and 1905 was unexpectedly defeated by the Japanese. Since World War II began the Soviet Union has more than made up for these failures: by reducing Eastern Europe and the Balkans to satellite status; by seizing the Kuril islands from Japan; by annexing Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; and, most recently, by occupying Afghanistan.

JULIAN GLOAG, London.

Another Dread Naught

Old "Oo" goes back a bit further than Jim Otto of the Oakland Raiders in the 1960s ("Numbers, Halfords, Etc.: Fuds Sell All the Rage," Sports, Dec. 15). The Sammy Baugh-era Washington Redskins in the late 1940s had a running back, Steve Bagarius, who sported the number. At least leave him that claim to fame.

CHARLES E. CABELL, 3d, Rome.

GENERAL NEWS

Mixed-Race Party Clogs Botha's Poll Plan

By William Claiborne

WASHINGTON POST SERVICE
JOHANNESBURG — President Pieter W. Botha's plans to postpone the whites-only parliamentary elections scheduled for 1989 appeared to be set back on Tuesday as the mixed-race Labor Party voted overwhelmingly to demand the repeal of all housing segregation laws as a condition to agreeing to such a delay.

The decision means that, in all likelihood, Mr. Botha's ruling National Party will be forced to face a growing Conservative Party challenge in little over a year from now — one that it had hoped to avoid until 1992.

Mr. Botha has said he will never agree to a complete scrapping of

the 1950 Group Areas act, which strictly segregates residential areas by race, although he has approved limited reforms that could lead to a few racially integrated neighborhoods if the majority of their residents request it.

The Labor Party, which controls the mixed-race chamber of the segregated tri-cameral Parliament, voted at its convention in Pretoria on Tuesday to demand the total repeal of the Group Areas Act as a condition to agreeing to a postponement of the scheduled elections until 1992.

Under the South African constitution, Mr. Botha would have to obtain the approval of the House of Representatives — the mixed-race chamber — and the Indian house of Parliament before going ahead

with his plans to postpone the elections for whites, who went to the polls in a general election last May. On Aug. 12, Mr. Botha obtained the unanimous support of his cabinet for changing the constitution so that each member of Parliament would hold office independently for five years. That would place elections for whites in 1992.

The far-right Conservative Party, which won 22 seats in Parliament in May to become the official opposition party, had protested bitterly that Mr. Botha's ruling National Party was attempting to rewrite the constitution in order to postpone a confrontation with the Conservatives.

The leader of the Labor Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, initially supported Mr. Botha's de-

cision, but he subsequently threatened to withhold his party's endorsement of 1992 elections, leading to a confrontation with the president in August and Mr. Hendrickse's resignation from the cabinet.

South Africa's 26 million-strong black majority in South Africa does not have the right to vote in parliamentary elections. The approximately one million South Africans of Indian descent have their own chamber in Parliament.

The previous all-white Parliament was elected in 1981, and white elections would normally have been due by 1986. But the revised 1984 constitution declared that new elections had to be held in 1989 for all three houses of Parliament.

In North Yemen, Traces of Empire Periled

By Patrick E. Tyler

WASHINGTON POST SERVICE
MAREB, North Yemen — This green valley on the edge of the great sand lake of the Empty Quarter in eastern North Yemen evokes history, yet its mysteries may never fully unfold.

Mostly buried under the bed of a trickling river and the farmland downstream from a dam here are the remnants of a civilization ruled by the most powerful woman who ever lived on the Arabian Peninsula, the queen of Sheba.

The Mareb Dam is a modern version of one built 3,000 years ago that was partly responsible for the prosperity of the region.

The dam and irrigation system, completed in 1985, and the recent discovery of oil nearby have brought a welcome renewal of prosperity to Mareb, which locals compare to the fabled riches of ancient times.

However, the demands of development seem likely to supersede those of archaeology and, combined with the paucity of North Yemen government funds for archaeological work, may put another layer of earth over the queen of Sheba's empire.

The old city of Mareb sits abandoned on a mound, under which may lie the foundation of the palace of Queen Bilqis. The crooked skyline of its mud houses can be seen shimmering in the noonday heat from 10 miles (16 kilometers) away.

Only a handful of poor squatters have dared to live within the cracked and crumbling walls of the old city during the 25 years since Egyptian bombers pummeled them

during a civil war that wracked North Yemen from 1962 to 1969.

"This used to be the greatest city on the Arabian Peninsula," said Ahmad A. Moharam, a specialist on Mareb who was formerly with the North Yemen Ministry of Culture.

Mr. Moharam said there had been no excavation in Mareb since

3,000 camels, 50,000 sacks of wheat and 20,000 sheep in a sprawling work camp to repair the old dam one last time before it collapsed again in the next century. The locks of the ancient dam still stand.

Today, oil exploration and production on concessions of the Hunt Oil Co. have helped swell the population from 200 to more than 7,000.

However, the ruler and Yemeni tribesmen decided that the work was harming the ruins, and chased the team out to South Yemen.

Before the flight, Frank P. Albright, the leader of the expedition, found the temple, which was covered with sand. He noted that on the eastern wall of the structure, where in 1828 a German scholar had counted 13 courses of inscriptions, only seven courses remained and much of the temple wall had disappeared stone by stone.

History has added little to understanding of the queen's empire beyond her domination of the incense trade. In effect, many scholars believe, she had cornered the import-export market for incense and myrrh brought from Somalia, Ethiopia and India, which she then shipped north to customers who believed that her kingdom was the only source of these rare and essential commodities for the temples of the Mediterranean empires.

When the Hebrew king Solomon established his own trade route to the southern Arabian ports by assembling a Red Sea fleet manned by Phoenician sailors, the Bible records the queen of Sheba's famous visit to Solomon's court.

She arrived with "a very great retinue, with camels bearing spices and very much gold and precious stones," the Old Testament says. The Bible is not clear on how she and Solomon settled this trade dispute, but the settlement appears to have been amicable because the Book of Kings notes, "King Solomon gave the queen of Sheba all that she desired, whatever she asked was given to her by the bounty of King Solomon. So she turned and went back to her own land."

The only major archaeological expedition to Mareb was in late 1951 and early 1952, when the American Foundation for the Study of Man received permission from the Yemeni monarch to excavate the queen of Sheba's temple to the moon.

'This used to be the greatest city on the Arabian Peninsula.'

— Ahmad A. Moharam, a specialist on Mareb

the revolution in 1962 that toppled a feudal monarchy. "We don't have the staff to do it," he said. "We don't have the money."

The central government recently announced that it would accept proposals for archaeological excavation around Mareb, but the pace of new commercial and agricultural development appears to be overwhelming that possibility.

Farming companies and wealthy merchants from the capital of San'a and the commercial center of Ta'izz are buying up tracts that will benefit from the water flow that the new dam provides.

It was the ancient dam, built around time that the queen of Sheba ruled in the 10th century B.C., that made it possible for civilization to flourish around Mareb. An alabaster monument found near the dam and dated 420 A.D. details a massive reconstruction effort after floods had breached the barrier. Tribes gathered 20,000 men,

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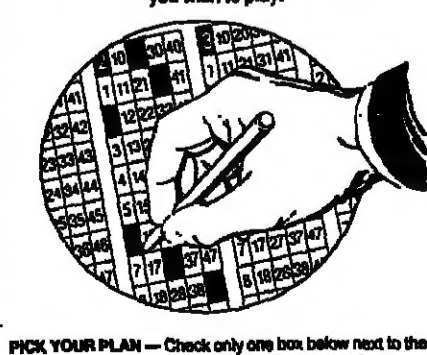
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ARTS / LEISURE

The Stage: Mixed Fortunes in London

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — It was a year of curiously mixed fortunes for plays and players.

Two of the best fringe theaters in town burned, four adjacent playhouses on Shaftesbury Avenue went briefly dark, and the Arts Council decided to do remarkably little about the recommendations

of the Cork report on Britain's national theatrical future. As against that, all theaters except the Tricycle were open again by Christmas, three others in the West End came back to life from years of disuse, and the Arts Council did manage at the year's end to announce an overall funding increase of 17 percent.

Nothing is ever quite as bad as it

looks in the theater, nor quite as good either.

The Royal Shakespeare Company got saved by a million pounds or so from Royal Insurance, and although actors have not yet been told to wear the RI logo on their Shakespearean breastplates, the time cannot be far off. It's already on all their posters and programs.

In a spirit of Thatcherite free enterprise, Kenneth Branagh set up his own classical company with city money and a royal blessing from Prince Charles, thereby begging one of the most important of all backstage questions for 1988.

If the future means private rather than public funding, there may be no trouble in getting sponsorship for the RSC or the National or even a golden boy like Branagh; but what happens to the experimental company with a dangerous new play that stockholders might not consider suitable for a night out with wives or clients? How many City firms would, even before the crash, have been willing to invest in what is unquestionably the play of the year, Caryl Churchill's "Serious Money," which just happens to be about the corruption of the City?

Presumably the perfect show for 1988 would be an Andrew Lloyd Webber musical called "Hats" and featuring Thatcher on a fork-lift truck surrounded by a roller-skating chorus of indigent arts administrators. The trouble is that Barry Humphries has already more or less done that.

There are changes, too, around the fringe. Three of the most distinguished theaters on the outer London ring, Hampstead and Greenwich and the Lyric Hammersmith, all now find themselves under some form of economic threat from local councils no longer sure where their own money is coming from, while around the country the pattern is much the same, with Glasgow and Manchester becoming increasingly isolated centers of excellence.

Trans-Atlanticity, the change would seem to be that after the imminent Broadway opening of Lloyd Webber's "Phantom of the Opera" and then Tim Rice's "Chess," the traffic will once again start to flow in the other direction.

You could look at the RSC, operating on a total of nine Stratford and London stages, or the National working on another four, as they move into the hand-over year from Peter Hall to Richard Eyre, or the Royal Court and Hampstead in

Already we have had London's great rediscovery of Arthur Miller, with Michael Gambon giving at the Aldwych what is unquestionably the performance of the year as Eddie Carbone in Alan Ayckbourn's classic and definitive production of "A View From the Bridge."

Early in the new year we get a welcome return to Eugene O'Neill with Vanessa Redgrave and Timothy Dalton in "A Touch of the Poet," and in rather lighter vein there are also South American treats in store as "South Pacific," "The Musical Comedy Murders of 1940," "Kander and Ebb's 'The Rink,'" a complete "Ziegfeld Follies" at the Palladium and, back on the serious side of the stage, a National revival of "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof."

Having rediscovered, at any rate with Miller, the greatness of the American theater, there are also encouraging signs that the rest of the world is now not forgotten by London either.

This has been the year of Theima Holt's international season at the National, which brought us such rich and rare treats as the Nigam's cherry-blossom "Macbeth" from Tokyo, Peter Stein's epic "Hairy Ape" from West Berlin, and from Moscow the lyrical Mayakovsky production of "Tomorrow Was War" as well as, from Stockholm, the Ingmar Bergman "Hamlet" and "Miss Julie."

This has also been the year of Judi Dench's superlative Cleopatra, a brilliant triple at the Royal Court (Jonathan Miller's "The Emperor," Churchill's "Serious Money," and Simon Curtis's biskily edited import of Sam Shepard's "Lie of the Mind") and of Maggie Smith and Margaret Tyacke as an odd couple of veteran bulldozers in Peter Shaffer's subversive comedy about the way we live now and always slightly worse than before, "Lettice and Lovage."

Merrily it has also been the year in which the West End at long last caught up with such vintage Stephen Sondheim musicals as "Follies" and "Pacific Overtures," the former slightly weakened by a new ending but the latter given a rousing premiere by the English National Opera.

That however leaves no less than three major Sondheim scores from the 1980s ("Merrily We Roll Along," "Sunday in the Park With George" and "Into the Woods") not only unseen in London, but with amazingly no plans for production either.

New plays tended to be on the dark side: Alan Ayckbourn's "Small Family Business," with its suburban family turning into a semi-detached Mafia; Vladimir Gubarev's chilling semi-documentary about Chernobyl ("Scaphopoda") and Stephen Bill's blackly funny euthanasia piece, "Curtains," which, alongside Tom Kempinski's wonderfully touching trans-Atlantic "Separation," seemed to me the best local script of the year after "Serious Money."

So what next? Despite the loss of the Mermaid as a London home for RSC hits from their great Jacobean Swan in Stratford, there was the return of Jonathan Miller to the Old Vic, where he did some of his best work for Olivier 20 years ago, and the return of John Gielgud to the West End for the first time in a decade. The news is never all bad.



Dianne Wiest and Ron Silver in Janusz Glowacki's "Hunting Cockroaches."

... Engaged in New York

By Frank Rich
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — To hear people in the insular theater business talk about it, the best stories of 1987 were the ascendancy of the English musical, the landmarking of irreplaceable Broadway theaters, the immigration travails of Mrs. Andrew Lloyd Webber, the return of the low-cost, high-yield entertainment, and the extravaganza-hungry public's almost mute compliance with the freshly minted \$50 ticket.

But there was another word spinning in 1987 — the real world — and what made the theater year memorable, if at times painful, was the surprising extent to which that world kept bursting through.

I don't think one could go to the theater this year and not be at least subliminally aware that an economy chomping on unearned wealth was headed for a crash: Not only in the numbing decadence of "Starlight Express" but also in such fascinating disappointments as Peter Brook's "Mahabharata" (with its lavishly constructed environmental set) and the Stephen Sondheim-James Lapine "Into the Woods," both of whose considerable dramatic peaks crowned a mound of baroque, self-indulgent narrative and thematic clutter.

Some of the year's most gripping

performances — Derek Jacobi as the heroic mathematician Alan Turing in Hugh Whitmore's "Breaking the Code," Dianne Wiest as an irrepressible Polish immigrant in Janusz Glowacki's wry "Hunting Cockroaches," Morgan Freeman's dignified chauffeur in Alfred Uhry's "Driving Miss Daisy" — also transcend their specific moment, testifying instead to an individual actor's hard-won maturation over a long career.

The most powerful New American play of 1987, August Wilson's "Fences," is more to the year's point; it is only technically removed from immediate concerns. Set in Pittsburgh during the 1950s, "Fences" tells of a battle between a black garbage man, a Vesuvius of festering anger as embodied by James Earl Jones, and his son over issues of identity and aspiration that a later generation of black Americans, Wilson's generation, would bring to a national, multicultural boiling point. The ability of "Fences" to draw the large audience that failed to turn out for Wilson's previous (arguably more impressive) "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom" says much that is positive about the stage's re-emerging ability to engage theatergoers committed to something other than the biggest musical or special-effects bang for the Broadway buck. Wilson, the theater's most astonishing writing discovery in this decade, is no more settling for a period piece in "Fences" or his other historically minded plays than Arthur Miller was writing exclusively about New England traveling salesmen in "Death of a Salesman."

There is, of course, as much to be learned about our era from the haves as the have-nots. Caryl Churchill's "Serious Money," an import from London's Royal Court Theatre, is a latter-day Restoration comedy set in the financial district of the pre-crash London stock exchange. Like Oliver Stone in the film "Wall Street" and Tom Wolfe in the novel "Bonfire of the Vanities," Churchill is obsessed with the very specific nature of the greedy of the late 1980s. Churchill's funny, adventurous play — which translates the new moneypeak of the pits into vulgar, Runyonesque verse that screams and gyrates like London tabloid headlines — turns the theater itself into the arena of the Big Bang. Even when the actual action of "Serious Money" defies a market neophyte's comprehension, we feel that we are smack at the noisy, clamorous eye of a financial whirlwind, at once exciting and terrifying, that one player fittingly likens to "a cross between roulette and Space Invaders."

Another play presented at the Public Theater, Eric Bogosian's "Talk Radio," has much the same boisterous tone as "Serious Money" — even though its characters could not be ostensibly more different. "Talk Radio" is about a slippery, glib Cleveland radio call-in show host, Barry Champlain, whose fellow talkers are a cross section of a nation's insomniacs, bigots, crazies, paranoids, know-nothings and crack-accelerated thugs. As performed and written by Bogosian, "Talk Radio" made one feel as if someone had lifted up a huge rock so that the meanest scum of our society, our own genius of Nathaniel West's locusts, could ooze out, ready to follow Barry Champlain or some other nascent demagogue to the slaughter. In this

first play, as in such previous monologues as "FunHouse" and "Drinking in America," Bogosian reveals an uncanny ear for the subterranean rumble of the American stratum addicted to junk food, junk culture, junk drugs and junk cash.

The most lethal poison at loose in the world, AIDS, remained a prime topic for onstage treatment this year. But the most prominent of the explicit AIDS plays, the garishly inflated Broadway edition of Harvey Fierstein's "Safe Sex," seemed less relevant to the subject than Christopher Hampton's ingenious adaptation of "Les Liaisons Dangereuses," the 1782 novel by Choderlos de Laclos, as directed by Howard Davies for the Royal Shakespeare Company. The play's dramatization of heartless sexual gamesmanship spoke powerfully to audiences in the midst of re-examining life in the carnal fast lane.

Terrence McNally's "Frankie and Johnny in the Clair de Lune," initially presented at the Manhattan Theater Club, seems another, elliptical response to the AIDS crisis. This new-style romantic comedy poses a theoretical question of our moment: What if the only hope for safe love in a world where life is "cheap and short" is the date you have tonight — the somewhat likable, somewhat irritating colleague you took out after work? Kathy Bates and Kenneth Welsh, as fellow employees of a greasy spoon, spend the night in a Hell's Kitchen walk-up trying to overcome "the million reasons" they don't love each other to find instead the few reasons that might bring them together, as if they might never have another shot at forming a human connection.

How one wishes that Linford Wilson's honorable "Burn This," a messianic, more ambitious but frustratingly unfulfilled play about related matters, had a heroine as credible and detailed as Bates' Frankie. In "Burn This," Wilson is in part about the mourning prompted by the death of a brilliant young choreographer drowned in a freak boating accident. It is possible that 1987 may be most remembered by theatergoers as the year in which two visionary giants, Michael Bennett and Charles Ludlam, died of similarly irrational circumstances, both at the height of their powers, both at age 44. Ludlam left behind a company, the Ridiculous, that is nobly carrying on in Sheridan Square. Bennett left behind two Broadway productions, "A Chorus Line" and a stripped-down bus-and-truck company of "Dreamgirls," that demonstrate his genius for achieving his choreographic magic with unknown performers and virtually none of the scenic extravaganzas endemic to the Broadway (and London) musical.

"Dreamgirls" concluded its extended engagement last month. The closing matinee began with a stage manager reading the list of the company's several AIDS casualties; it ended with a packed house cheering a giving, gifted young cast that was about to be out of work. There were so many moments like that in 1987, not all of them tragic, when offstage and onstage drama collided and blurred. Out of this crucible came some art of which the American theater has every reason to be proud, as well as the grief that is not likely to vanish into the wings anytime too soon.

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Finland F.M.	1,730	41	950	35	520	29
France F.F.	1,500	41	820	36	450	29
Germany D.M.	580	41	320	35	175	29
Gr. Britain £	130	40	72	34	40	27
Greece Dr.	22,000	45	12,000	40	6,600	34
Ireland £Ir.	150	45	82	40	45	34
Italy Lire	380,000	42	210,000	36	115,000	30
Luxembourg L.Fr.	11,500	37	6,300	31	3,400	25
Netherlands Fl.	650	40	360	34	198	27
Norway (post) N.Kr.	1,800	38	990	32	540	26
— (incl. del.) N.Kr.	2,300	21	1,270	13	700	4
Portugal Esc.	22,000	52	12,000	47	6,600	42
Spain (post) Ptas.	29,000	41	16,000	35	8,800	28
— (incl. del.) Ptas.	42,000	15	21,000	15	10,500	15
Sweden (post) S.Kr.	1,800	38	990	32	540	26
— (incl. del.) S.Kr.	2,300	21	1,270	13	700	4
Switzerland S.Fr.	510	44	280	38	154	32
Rest of Europe, N. Africa, former Fr. Africa, Middle East \$	430	Varies by country	230	Varies by country	125	Varies by country
Rest of Africa, Gulf States, Asia \$	580		320		175	

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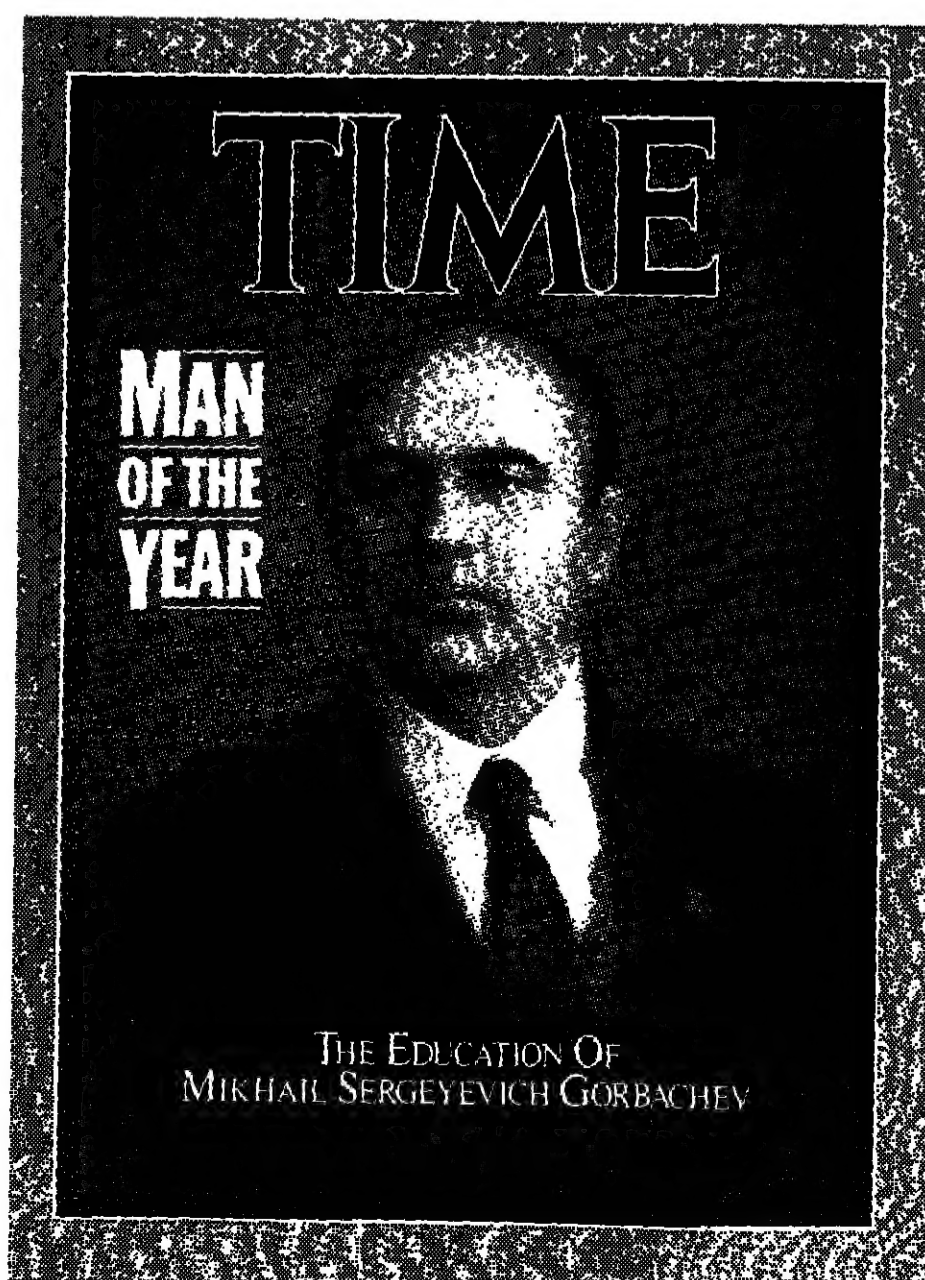




1987 He has led his country for only 33 months. Yet in that brief time he has reinvented the idea of a Soviet leader, reimagined super-power relations, and restructured the dreams of his people. For these achievements — and for symbolizing the hope that the Soviet Union may become more concerned with the welfare of its citizens and less with the spread of its ideology abroad — Mikhail Gorbachev is TIME Magazine's Man of the Year for 1987.

But who is he? Where did he come from? How did this dedicated Communist and savvy Kremlin infighter acquire his personality, his ideas, his power? To find out, TIME interviewed dozens of his colleagues, schoolmates, and foreign acquaintances — and assembled the most comprehensive collection of official and family photographs of Gorbachev ever published. The result is the most complete portrait of the Soviet leader yet to appear.

A fresh vision of a man too often encountered in staged settings and photo opportunities. Another reason 29 million readers worldwide find that, week after week, there's no substitute for TIME.



Page 8

NYSE Most Actives				
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
IBM	111.50	111.00	111.00	+1/4
AT&T	109.00	108.50	108.50	+1/4
GE	107.00	106.50	106.50	+1/4
Amgen	105.00	104.50	104.50	+1/4
Amgen	105.00	104.50	104.50	+1/4
Amgen	105.00	104.50	104.50	+1/4
Amgen	105.00	104.50	104.50	+1/4
Amgen	105.00	104.50	104.50	+1/4
Amgen	105.00	104.50	104.50	+1/4
Amgen	105.00	104.50	104.50	+1/4

Dow Jones Bond Averages				
Bonds	Close	Chg.	Yield	Vol.
Govt	101.50	+0.10	8.50	100
Govt	101.50	+0.10	8.50	100
Govt	101.50	+0.10	8.50	100
Govt	101.50	+0.10	8.50	100
Govt	101.50	+0.10	8.50	100

Market Sales				
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. volume

NYSE Index				
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.

Tuesday's NYSE Closing				
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.

AMEX Diary				
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low

NASDAQ Index				
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low

AMEX Most Actives				
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.

NYSE Diary				
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low

Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.				
Buy	Sales	Vol.	High	Low
Buy	Sales	Vol.	High	Low
Buy	Sales	Vol.	High	Low
Buy	Sales	Vol.	High	Low
Buy	Sales	Vol.	High	Low

Dow Jones Averages				
Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.

Standard & Poor's Index				
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low

NASDAQ Diary				
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low
Class	Chg.	Prev.	High	Low

AMEX Stock Index				
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.
High	Low	Open	Close	Chg.

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

NYSE Posts 3d Straight Decline

NEW YORK — The New York Stock Exchange suffered its third consecutive pullback Tuesday as prices weakened in slow, mid-holiday trading that provided investors little incentive to enter the market as the year draws to a close.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which fell 56.70 on Monday, declined 16.08 to close at 1,926.89. The Dow had gained nearly 240 points between Dec. 4 and last Wednesday, but has given back 78.75 points in the last three sessions.

"The market has not been able to attract or muster any buying enthusiasm," said Eugene Peroni Jr., chief technical analyst at Janney Montgomery Scott Inc. in Philadelphia. "Most of the potential participants remained sidelined, and there is nothing to lure investors into the action."

Declines led advances by 994,509 among the 1,989 issues crossing the exchange tape.

Volume totaled 111.6 million shares, compared with the 131.2 million traded Monday.

Mr. Peroni said the market's weakness reflected lingering concerns over the weakened dollar, some year-end tax selling and some portfolio adjustments.

"There is very little to motivate buyers right now," he said. "We see a trend down toward 1870" on the Dow average "over the next four to six sessions. After that, the market could mount an advance of some proportion. This slipage is not welcome because it hurts technically, but it is still within an acceptable range."

"It is very year-end looking," said Trade Lister of Josephthal & Co. She said the only major point of strength appeared to be the money center banks, which got a boost on a move by the

Treasury Department to help Mexico cut its foreign debt to the banks.

Commonwealth Edison was the most active NYSE-listed issue, down 1/4 to 27 1/2. Citicorp followed, up 1/4 to 18 1/4, with Southern California Edison third, unchanged at 30 1/4.

In the blue-chip sector, AT&T was unchanged at 26 1/4, IBM was up 1/4 to 116, General Electric fell 1/4 to 44 1/4, Merck was off 1/4 to 155 1/4, Kodak was unchanged at 48 1/4, Exxon was off 1/4 to 38 1/4, and American Express dropped 1/4 to 22 1/4.

Prices were lower in active trading on the American Stock Exchange. The Amex Market Value index fell 1.36 to 255.28, with declines leading advances by 389,270 among the 940 issues traded.

OTC Volume Rose in '87

NEW YORK — The volume of trading in over-the-counter stocks soared in 1987, but not quite as much as the volume on the New York Stock Exchange, according to figures released Tuesday.

The American Stock Exchange's growth lagged behind both.

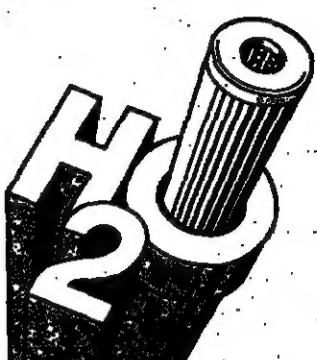
The National Association of Securities Dealers said over-the-counter trading volume was 37.2 billion shares as of Dec. 23. That amounted to a little more than three-quarters the volume on the NYSE and 10.9 times as much as the volume on the Amex.

12 Month High Low Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	52 High Low	Open	Close	Chg.
12 Month High Low Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	52 High Low	Open	Close	Chg.
12 Month High Low Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	52 High Low	Open	Close	Chg.
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12 Month High Low Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	52 High Low	Open	Close	Chg.
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12 Month High Low Stock Div. Yld. PE 52 High Low Open Close Chg.

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'87: The Year the Agencies Reached the Bottom Dollar

By PHILIP H. DOUGHERTY
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — It appears as if the demystification of advertising agencies has been completed. Manufacturers en masse on the unromantic side of business no longer look in awe at those who can do such miraculous things for a sales chart. For all their strange talk and cheerful ways, for all their huckster images and dream-peddler reputations, those people on Madison Avenue do have feet of clay after all. Agency people were once looked upon as partners in marketing, well worth the 15 percent commission they got from the media on all client spending, and they wouldn't quit a client to take on a larger company in the same field. And, oh, how fat and sassy those agencies were 25 years ago.

Change may have been slow in coming, but 1987 certainly finished the metamorphosis. "They've gone from a consultancy relationship to a vendor relationship," said Robert S. Marker, former chairman of McCann-Erickson, who is now a consultant. He added that "on the client side there is more management by committee, more people involved in agency review. It's gone from a craft and shop ambience to a factory ambience. The whole thing is dehumanizing."

Proof of that is the number of people who thought that change in agency compensation was one of the year's more important events. And that merely reflects the change in agency structure and the way services are offered. A full commission reflected full service: creative, media selection and buying, research, marketing. How many clients want full service today? Everything is done à la carte. Clients have built up capabilities in areas that previously were agency domains. Client involvement in the advertising process has reached the highest circles, circles that must also worry about the bottom line. In that group, the thought that Ted Bates Worldwide executives got \$450 million from the agency's sale to Seatchi & Seatchi, and that Robert E. Jacoby, the chief executive, got at least \$100 million himself, still affects discussions on compensation.

But what about 1987? What kind of a year was it?

Alan J. Gottsman, an analyst with L.F. Rothschild, commented, "There hasn't been a profound change since cave painting." But he thinks that the year might have marked the return to a normal curve from the "aberrational" years of 1985 and 1986 with all of the mega-mergers on both the advertiser and agency side.

"It was the year the business was at its nadir," remarked Stephen Kahler, a consultant in Darien, Connecticut. "There was no fun in it. Layoffs were on an unprecedented scale — the biggest drop ever. But I think it will come back." Then he thought a minute and quoted an optimistic thought from a former boss, the late Tom Dillon of BBDO International: "It's hard to ruin a good agency, and, God knows, a lot of good men have tried."

Mr. Gottsman noted that "the role that advertising plays in the economy has not diminished one iota and I expect some very spirited growth." That may look good for the agencies, but as Jack L. Matthews, a Chicago consultant, pointed out, "The way advertisers are playing the game today, they say, 'You've done a wonderful job but we're going to pay you 40 percent less.'"

It's gone from a craft and shop ambience to a factory ambience.

Publisher To Buy NV Audet

VNU Offering \$133 Million

Reuters

AMSTERDAM — NV Verenigd Beeld, the largest Dutch publisher, has agreed to buy the newspaper chain NV Audet for 340 million guilders (\$133 million) in cash and stock, the companies said Tuesday.

The combined company would command around 16 percent of the Dutch newspaper market.

The merger would allow joint marketing and development of technology and market information systems, the companies said.

The publisher plans to offer 2.5 new VNU shares and 100 guilders in cash for every Audet share.

VNU's shares were suspended Tuesday before opening on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange at 56 guilders.

Audet stock closed on Monday at 163.50 guilders. Audet has one million shares outstanding.

Audet, based in Nijmegen, owns regional newspapers and covers 9.8 percent of Dutch readers, according to recent circulation data. VNU has a small newspaper unit, and its market share is put at 6.1 percent.

The companies said that they expected combined 1987 sales of 2.3 billion guilders in all operations.

The Dutch daily newspaper De Telegraaf has a 5-percent stake in Audet and a regional holding company, Hazewinkel Holding Groeping BV, owns 15 percent.

Audet has in turn 15 percent of Hazewinkel Holding, 25 percent of printers Drukkerij Twintie Courant BV and 20 percent of a rival newspaper chain, Wegener Couranten Concern NV. It also owns a 44-percent interest in Ivorycrest Ltd., a British data software house.

Audet had 1986 sales of 312 million guilders and reported a 43-percent rise in net profit to 19.9 million guilders. For the first six months of 1987, sales were 158.8 million guilders and net was down 10 percent to 10.2 million guilders.

In 1986, VNU had sales of 1.7 billion guilders and net profit of 75 million. For the first half of 1987, VNU reported sales of 859.4 million and net of 46.9 million.

VNU's main competitor was formed by the merger in August of Kluwer NV with Wolters Samson Groep NV. That acquisition pushed Elsevier NV into third place in the industry.



Traders working amid the recent travails of the Hong Kong stock market.

Hong Kong's New Issues Wilt Quickly

Their Performance Dims Hope of More Stable Market

By Patrick L. Smith
International Herald Tribune

HONG KONG — In the months before the worldwide drop in equities prices last October, the few square blocks that make up Hong Kong's financial district were abuzz with talk of a more mature stock market, one that offered investors a broader selection than they had ever known.

Spurred by high share prices, increased consumer demand and a boom in exports, almost 40 Hong Kong firms followed Hong Kong's unofficial flag carrier, Cathay Pacific Airways Ltd., to the market. The number of listings rose to its current 280.

Including rights issues and private placements, Hong Kong companies raised \$7 billion on the local market between the beginning of 1986 and September of 1987 — more than twice the value of shares issued in the previous six years combined.

"To an extent, the new issues are transforming the contours of this market," David Harding, a director at Thomson Management (Asia) Ltd., said in an interview last September. "There's some light coming out, but the good news is there are some strong new stocks, too."

All this has changed, however, since October. Roughly 30 more new share issues, which filled the stock exchange's calendar until mid-1988, have been canceled.

The phenomenon is hardly isolated. Several hundred new stocks planned for the New York Stock Exchange have similarly gone by the boards, at least for the time being.

For Hong Kong, however, the collapse of the new-issues market is particularly troubling, fund managers, analysts and brokers say. By adding depth to a traditionally shallow market, new shares were an essential part of Hong Kong's bid to assume prominence among global exchanges.

But in the aftermath of the October collapse,

Hong Kong has instead come quickly to resemble the immature markets of neighboring nations: narrowly focused on a handful of established blue chips and wildly uncertain at the edges.

"Hong Kong is still a Mickey Mouse exchange," Mr. Harding said with evident discouragement the other day. "No amount of new issues will ever alter that."

Several of the best new stocks — Cathay Pacific, Mandarin Oriental International, Dairy Farm Co. — are either spinoffs from old-line British firms, trading houses, or the result of corporate restructuring exercises at companies of equal reputation. As such, they were instant blue chips in the Hong Kong market.

What had attracted the attention of both local and foreign investors, however, was the dozens of industrial shares, and some consumer stocks, being offered for the first time. Although manufacturers are the backbone of the economy, investing in Hong Kong has long meant focusing on banks, utilities and property concerns, which make up two-thirds of the Hang Seng index's weighting.

There were clear reasons for the exclusion of all but a handful of industrials. Most are family-centered, too small to be listed and cautious in their control of assets; even among the current crop of new listings, many still leave 60 percent to 75 percent of issued capital in private hands.

In the recent bull market, however, this pattern was said to be changing. In particular, a new generation of executives — many of whom are Western-educated — were expected to reduce their companies' traditional vulnerability to drops in overseas demand and sudden changes in consumer tastes.

Reflecting this confidence, newly available garment, toy and electronics companies, as well as

See HONG KONG, Page 11

Gulf Oil States Call for a Halt To Discounting

Reuters

RIYADH — Gulf Arab oil producers called Tuesday for a halt to price discounting, and Indonesia said it would not be bound by OPEC's latest agreement if other members cheat.

The communiqué by the six nations of the Gulf Cooperation Council, published after a four-day meeting in Saudi Arabia's capital, comes as a world oil glut threatens to undermine the OPEC agreement reached on Dec. 14.

In that agreement, OPEC set an output ceiling of 15.06 million barrels a day, excluding Iraq, to defend a price of \$18 a barrel.

Tuesday's communiqué stressed "the necessity of abiding by OPEC resolutions and stopping direct and indirect discounting."

It called on non-OPEC states to cooperate with the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries "to achieve stability in the market by reducing their surplus production."

The Gulf council groups OPEC members Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates with nonmembers Bahrain and Oman.

Saudi Arabia, the world's biggest oil exporter, has resisted pressure from foreign buyers to sell at a discount. But industry executives said the world glut is increasing pressure for hidden discounts and lower prices linked to the non-OPEC, or spot, market.

A Saudi oil official said Monday the kingdom would not sell oil below official prices unless overproduction by other OPEC members threatened its market share.

In another warning, Indonesia's Antara news agency quoted Abdul Rachman Ramly, head of the state oil company Pertamina, as saying Monday that Jakarta would consider itself free of any OPEC commitments if other members contravened the output limits.

He said Energy Minister Subroto had stated at OPEC's meeting in Vienna that Indonesia "reserves the right not to be part of the agreement any more should members continue to violate it."

On Tuesday, Brent Blend for spot delivery rose about 30 cents from Monday, to \$17.40 a barrel. The U.S. benchmark crude, West Texas Intermediate, went up 45 cents to \$16.90.

OPEC Income Up in '87

For the first time since 1980, OPEC's income in 1987 was higher than the year before, according to industry estimates. The Associated Press reported from Brussels. Still, income was the second-lowest since 1973, when Arab oil producers boycotted the United States.

Helped by a boost in prices, OPEC's income from oil exports in 1987 was roughly \$93 billion, or about one-fifth higher than in 1986, said Stephen Turner, an oil specialist at the investment firm Wood, Mackenzie & Co., in Edinburgh.

Saudis Said Considering Incentives to Oil Buyers

Reuters

NEW YORK — Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil exporter, may soon be forced to offer incentives to buyers if it wants to sell its full quota of crude oil in a glutted market, a move that could send oil prices tumbling to \$15 a barrel or less, analysts said Tuesday.

The Saudis are likely to consider such sales enticements as a discount from the official OPEC price based on a spot oil price, or as a rebate on the official price, experts

said. Another strategy could include increasing the sales of refined products, which are not covered by the latest OPEC pact.

A Saudi oil official in Riyadh said earlier Tuesday that the kingdom was determined to preserve its share of the market.

Although requests for discounts have repeatedly been turned down, this official said that Saudi Arabia would consider other ways to maintain its quota of 4.343 million barrels per day if other OPEC members exceeded their production quotas.

"Even if no OPEC members cheat, the Saudis will have to offer alternative financial terms to market their crude oil," said Edward Krapels, president of Energy Security Analysis Inc.

He estimated that OPEC production will run about 17.6 million barrels a day for the first quarter of 1988, when demand is projected to be less than 17 million a day.

One oil industry source said that Arabian-American Oil Co., or Aramco, the national Saudi oil company, was considering various pricing formulas under which it would sell about 1.3 million barrels daily to its four U.S. partners, Chevron Corp., Tesaco Inc., Mobil Corp. and Exxon.

This source, who spoke on condition he not be identified, said that the most likely incentive would be a rebate based on spot prices.

An Aramco spokesman in Washington, Robert Norberg, said that Saudi Arabia had not changed its position of selling crude oil at the official OPEC price of \$18.

But Michael Rothman, an analyst at Merrill Lynch Capital Markets, said, "There is no way the Aramco partners would take 'their full contracted volume of crude oil from the Saudis unless they were going to be given market-related prices.'"

He said that U.S. oil prices could fall to about \$15 a barrel from the current level of around \$16 to \$17 if Saudi Arabia decided to begin offering price discounts on crude.

Currency Rates

Cross Rates	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29
Amsterdam	1.79	2.21	1.257	1.322	1.157	1.194	1.194	1.194	1.194
Buenos Aires	2.32	2.34	1.024	1.024	1.024	1.024	1.024	1.024	1.024
Frankfurt	1.094	2.46	0.394	0.429	0.394	0.429	0.394	0.429	0.394
London	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Madrid	1.71	1.71	0.584	0.629	0.584	0.629	0.584	0.629	0.584
New York	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris	6.54	6.54	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.154
Tokyo	162.58	162.58	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.006
West Germany	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1 ECU	1.294	0.764	0.764	0.764	0.764	0.764	0.764	0.764	0.764
1 SDR	1.492	0.654	0.654	0.654	0.654	0.654	0.654	0.654	0.654

Changin in London, Tokyo and Zurich, figures in other cities, New York closing rates.
Source: Commercial Union; 1: To buy one pound; 2: To buy one dollar; 3: Units of 100 M.C.; not rounded; N.A.: not available.

Interest Rates

Forward Rates	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29
1-month	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
3-month	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
6-month	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1-year	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

Source: Morgan Guaranty (London, S.F., Paris, Frankfurt); Lloyds Bank (ECU); Reuters (SDR). Rates available to interbank deposits of \$1 million minimum (or equivalent).

Key Money Rates

United States	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29	Dec. 29
Discount rate	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Federal funds	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Prime rate	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
90-day Treasury bill	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
1-year Treasury bill	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5
3-month Treasury bill	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
6-month Treasury bill	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
90-day Treasury bill	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
1-year Treasury bill	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5
3-month Treasury bill	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
6-month Treasury bill	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
90-day Treasury bill	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
1-year Treasury bill	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Dec. 29, 1987.

Asian Dollar Deposits

1-month	3-month	6-month	1-year	1.5-year	2-year	3-year	4-year	5-year	10-year
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

Source: Reuters, Bank of Tokyo, Commercial Union, Credit Lyonnais.

As 'Big 3' Focus on Local Problems, Latin Debt Crisis Worsens

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

RIO DE JANEIRO — Economic crises in Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, occurring simultaneously for the first time since Latin America's debt troubles began in 1982, are exacerbating the region's difficult relations with its foreign creditors.

Until now, commercial banks could point to developments in one or another of the three major debtor nations as proof that the strategy of repeated debt restructurings was working. Agreements with one country served as models for others.

That is no longer the case. Burdened by a combined debt of \$280 billion, all three are suffering from high inflation, minimal growth, rising unemployment and crises of confidence in outgoing governments.

As the economic benefits derived from appealing foreign banks have shrunk, the political price of doing so has escalated. And as they have grown disenchanted with the perceived inflexibility of their creditors, these countries have focused increasingly on pressing domestic problems.

"For a while, debt negotiations seemed to offer a way out of the crisis," a Brazilian economist said. "But what began in most countries as external sector crises has now spread throughout their economies so the debt problem can no longer dictate policy."

For example, even after suspending interest payments on its \$70 billion debt to commercial banks in February, Brazil saw economic growth fall from 8 percent in 1986 to around 3 percent this year, while inflation has reached 366 percent.

The Burdens of the Big 3

Burdened by a combined debt of \$280 billion, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina are suffering from high inflation and minimal growth. All numbers are for 1987. Debt figures are in billions of U.S. dollars.

Country	Debt	Growth	Inflation
Brazil	\$113	3.0%	350%
Mexico	108	1.0	150
Argentina	54	2.0	170

In Argentina, growth fell to 2 percent this year from 6 percent last year, with inflation running at around 170 percent. Mexico's growth was 1 percent, in contrast to a shrinking of 3.8 percent in 1986, but accompanied by record inflation of around 150 percent.

The governments of the Big Three debtors have also had good reason to stop looking abroad for relief from their troubles.

Latin American officials say that the main incentive that debtor nations have had since 1982 for "exporting capital," or paying out more in interest than they were receiving in new loans, was the belief that, sooner or later, credit flows to the region would be normalized. But this has not occurred.

As hopes for a regional economic recovery have faded, Western banks have begun turning their backs on Latin America, often building up their reserves against anticipated

losses, a trend initiated by Citicorp last summer. Bank of Boston Corp. also recently wrote off \$300 million of Latin debt, putting pressure on other banks to follow its lead.

Much as many would like to, Latin American governments are unable to break the relationship with creditors, either for fear of losing trade credits and export markets or because they could face reprisals or international ostracism.

Thus, while the finance ministers of Brazil, Mexico and Argentina recently decided to coordinate their debt policies, they have so far discussed how to remain inside the international economic community rather than how to confront their creditors.

Nonetheless, the consensus among debtors and many creditors is that nothing fundamental has occurred over the past five years to alleviate the crisis. For example, debt restructuring agreements have frequently required renegotiation because of such unforeseen events as a collapse in world oil prices.

Inevitably, in the absence of technical arrangements that permit countries to keep up payments abroad without making intolerable sacrifices at home, the entire debt issue has become more politicized. Foreign bankers worry most about Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. Yet, from Uruguay to the Dominican Republic, resentment is also growing over the price of financial respectability.

This year, for example, the economic growth rate for Latin America as a whole was 2.6 percent, a drop from 3.7 percent last year and barely sufficient to cover population growth.

"For the sixth consecutive year," said a report from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, "weak growth in most countries of the region was insufficient to address accumulated economic and social problems."

Debt payments alone were not responsible. In many cases, falling prices of commodity exports contributed. In other cases, governments were unwilling, mainly for political reasons, to cut spending and reduce the huge public deficits that feed inflation.

In an unusually sharp comment, Brazil's former debt negotiator, Fernando Bracher, charged last week that Brazil's problem was at home. "There's no point in complaining about the creditors if our government is not ready to act with austerity in dealing with such economic problems as the deficit," he said. "If it doesn't do so, we're making fools of ourselves."

IMF to Add \$8 Billion to Fund for Poor

Reuters

WASHINGTON — The International Monetary Fund announced Tuesday that it is establishing an \$8.4 billion pool of funds to help support the economies of some of the world's poorest countries.

The money is to be donated by a number of nations, including six of the Group of Seven leading industrial democracies. The United States, the other Group of Seven member, is not participating.

The money will be added to a reserve of about \$3 billion that the IMF uses to help poor nations.

The funds, to be called the enhanced structural adjustment facility, were approved after difficult negotiations on how the money would be raised and under what conditions it would be loaned.

The successful conclusion of the negotiations was an achievement for the IMF's managing director, Michel Camdessus of France. He had proposed tripling the funding pool from its original \$4 billion, a

portion of which had been loaned out since the pool was established last March.

Mr. Camdessus had envisioned a revolving fund of about \$12 billion, depending on currency values, for 62 developing countries, particularly the most needy in sub-Saharan Africa.

The IMF declined to identify the countries that had agreed to contribute funds. Monetary sources said that at least 20 governments planned to do so.

"The precise amount of each contribution will be known when details of the arrangements with each contributor are complete," the IMF said.

The United States had made it clear, at last June's economic meeting of the Group of Seven in Venice, that its budget deficit precluded it from joining other wealthy countries in providing funds.

At that meeting, Mr. Camdessus had proposed an \$8 billion increase in the funding pool. The Group of Seven — the United States, Japan,

West Germany, Britain, France, Canada and Italy — approved his plan but made no commitments.

The IMF said the enhanced facility would be subject to the same financial terms as before: that loans be repaid in 10 equal semi-annual installments, beginning five and half years and ending 10 years from the date of disbursement, and that they carry an interest rate of 0.5 percent a year.

"Consistent with the monetary character of fund programs, the facility will be aimed at strengthening balance of payments of countries as well as promoting growth," the IMF said.

The structural adjustment facility was approved in 1986 to recycle to the poorest countries hit by the debt crisis money that was being repaid to the IMF trust fund by debtor nations. The trust fund, formed to help poor countries overwhelmed by the two energy price shocks of the 1970s, was financed by IMF gold sales between 1976 and 1980.

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3

SPORTS

With New Year, Tonic for the 'Old'

International Herald Tribune
LONDON — This account is a New Year tonic for tough guys (women, too) who are nearing 30, after which all are deemed "experienced" but headed for athletic decline.

It is also an offering against the conviction that loyalty is dead and buried.

The prime character is Billy Bonds, who makes more comebacks than the average boomerang.

Bonds, a buccaneering West Ham United player, is having the time of his life in England's First Division. He is 41 years, 3 months and 12 days old — decrepit for a soccer player. Like an old banger that runs through its odometer more than once, Bonds keeps doing young men's jobs.

He is not the oldest in first-class soccer. Hugo Orlando Gatti has completed 25 years in Argentina's top division and 43 years on his own clock. But Gatti is a goalkeeper.

Not for a moment do I believe the supreme span of concentration, the mental stamina Gatti must

have. To still be on the firing line for Boca Juniors, to still banker for another championship after letting in 900 goals (in more than 740 matches), and to overcome nagging injuries that in 1978 kept him out of the World Cup, are testimony either to astounding willpower or to perpetually childlike dependence on the game.

Feisty though he is, Gatti mucks

Rob Hughes

his nickname — El Loco — for defiance of Father Time is a serious and dedicated business.

With age, the brain may speed up but the body slows. It should afflict a goalkeeper's reflexes, and at today's pace even more greatly handicap those in front of him.

That is where Bonds surpasses even Gatti. Just before Christmas, Bonds subdued England's brightest 20-year-old, just afterward (English First Division teams cram four games each into eight festive days) he opposed a 19-year-old.

Particularly intriguing was the duel against Newcastle United's Paul Gascoigne, a fledgling whom Bonds predicts will grow into the country's creative kingpin.

The generation gap between them blurred in virile combat. "Young Paul's a winner," said an only slightly winded Bonds afterward. "Billy's old enough to be my Dad," replied Gascoigne. "When he went down, I thought he had arthritis!"

Beyond banter lies sporting respect. Gascoigne must know intuitively that he is a far more talented individual than Bonds, but to achieve half the veteran's success at half his age he must acquire the "old man's" attitude.

Yet indisputable threatens Gascoigne's potential. He overheard in his tussle with Bonds and was booked, as he often is, for untidy aggression.

Some see his penitence as a growing pain. If so, that pain is between his ears. Newcastle says Gascoigne is beyond price, yet locals call him "Jack the lad," a term used for anything from a ladie

man to a drinker to a youth keeping bad company.

One weakness, important in a professional athlete, is for confederates. It was not puppy fat making him appear bloated next to the still-lean Bonds.

Gascoigne should digest a brief agency dispatch printed last week. "Stan Bowles," it read, "the former England forward, is to receive £17,361 [\$31,800] from a benefit fund set up by Brentford and Queen's Park Rangers, two of his former clubs."

That is a requiem to the lost prime of Bowles, a contemporary of Bonds, whose flamboyant gifts were long ago snuffed out through booze, gambling and insufficient moral fiber.

Bowles went to the dogs. Bonds resisted the temptation. The West Ham utility man once owned racing dogs, but discovered that "they had a terrific appetite for everything but winning races. I had to choose between the dogtrack and marriage. I couldn't afford to keep a wife and greyhounds."

Self-sacrifice has, however, been less than draconian. Bonds built a career lasting 23 years and 736 First Division games primarily on competitive keenness.

"He's a murderer in training," says fellow Hammer Ray Stewart. "It's embarrassing, because you aren't stop when he's still going."

The conditioning must be hell. "It is," smiles Bonds. "I'll eat anything. I like hamburgers, but my wife Lyn won't let me have too much junk food. And I love a couple of pints of beer."

His overindulgence is the game itself, a game that made this London bus driver's son a minor star of the East End.

He joined West Ham from neighboring Charlton Athletic in 1970. The Hammers had produced World Cup winners — Bobby Moore, Martin Peters, Geoff Hurst — and was breaking in an easygoing stylist, Trevor Brooking.

"I wanted somebody who could inspire the men around him with his effort and attitude," explained Ron Greenwood, who was then the manager. He bought "bustling Bil-

ly Bonds" for £47,500 and converted him from an adventurous right back to midfield action man.

"At first I was knocking myself out trying to do too much," Bonds recalls. "I would chase everything like a nutter and die in the last half hour."

He paced himself to help West Ham win the FA Cup twice and reach the final of the 1976 European Cup Winners Cup. He has been "Hammer of the year" three times and runner-up twice — so far.

In time West Ham dropped him, gently, to become the old man of the reserves. "His real worth is in the advice he can pass on to youngsters out there where neither I nor my coaches can do it," says Manager John Lyall.

Bonds forced his way back onto the first team when injuries struck last February. He stayed until the season was over.

This season Bonds was in the reserves until October, when injuries revisited the squad, results nosedived and the knives were out.

Perhaps only West Ham, which has had just five managers in its 87 years, would not bloody its hands. It gave Lyall time to scour his resources: Back came bustling Billy, or Bonzo Bonds as he is now known.

He is old enough to represent those Churchillian virtues — solidity, dependability, dogged courage — foreigners still believe to be British but that we Brits often doubt in ourselves.

Bonds coaxed self-belief into a team previously too meek in defeat. West Ham's crisis is passing and Bonds remains on merit, fighting for his place.

"The game is quicker and quicker," he observes. "Any player who isn't 100 percent fit is going to get bypassed."

Fitness is the mind as well as body. And they do look for miracles at West Ham, whose announcer suggested during a recent floodlight failure:

"If you all clap, perhaps many hands make light work."

Rob Hughes is on the staff of the Sunday Times.



At 43 and still in Argentina's top division, feisty goaltender Hugo Gatti continues to defy opponents as well as advancing years.

49ers, Both Lucky and Good, at Peak for Playoffs

By Leonard Koppert

New York Times Service

REDWOOD CITY, California — Brandishing the National Football League's best record in what they believed would be a "rebuilding year," the San Francisco 49ers have established themselves as the Super Bowl favorites.

Sunday's 48-0 thrashing of the Los Angeles Rams gave them a 13-2 mark, the National Conference West title and the home-field advantage throughout the playoffs.

Their unexpected success has produced plenty of heroes, like Joe Montana and Jerry Rice and Coach Bill Walsh, and some impressive statistics, including 14 straight games in which they have scored at least three touchdowns.

But what it really represents is a triumph of good management. Walsh is the club president as well as coach, and has been given unlimited authority and resources.

Support by Edward J. DeLoatch Jr., who bought the team in 1977, and brought in Walsh two years later, Walsh has excelled at finding high-quality assistants, and under his direction the 49ers have won two Super Bowls.

But this year, he and his staff prepared for a chaotic season. Starting last spring, the 49ers identified, evaluated and lined up players to use in case of a strike.

When the strike occurred, they fielded probably the best replacement team of all, and won all three replacement games.

Facing up to hard choices about an aging offensive line, they made draft choices to bolster it and devoted the preseason to realigning it.

During the strike, they maintained good relations with their strikers, and handled well the delicate matter of using those (like Montana) who crossed picket lines.

to play. After the strike, in a matter of days, they reestablished team harmony and began playing better than before.

In strictly football terms, they solved four basic problems in achieving what every coach works for — progressive improvement week by week.

The running game jelled when Roger Craig was shifted to halfback and Tom Rathman, an unheralded second-year player from Nebraska, was installed at fullback.

The pass rush, stalled partly by nagging injuries to regulars, has come back full force with the use of multiple substitutions, enabling an always aggressive secondary to resume its wholesale intercepting.

The special teams, victims of blocked kicks and long runbacks, have recently begun scoring touchdowns and blocking kicks consistently good field positions.

And what Rice has done for the long-strike pass is legendary. His 22 touchdown catches (in only 12 games, since he did not play during the strike) and 13 consecutive games with at least one touchdown catch are NFL records.

Montana, meanwhile, has been enjoying his best year — a club-record 31 TD passes. Although hampered by a hamstring injury, he is expected to be fully ready for the playoffs.

All this is the product of the Walsh's deep football sense. But his more important skills go beyond drawing up plays and running good practices. He has applied his ability to plan, to motivate players and coaches, to be decisive in his evaluations. In his low-key but automatic way he has built a smooth-functioning organization at all levels.

The strike situation was a good example. It wasn't merely a matter

of doing and saying the right thing at the right time — respecting the strikers, taking back the players who crossed the picket line, delivering a 3-0 replacement record and carrying out DeLoatch's plan to offer all players a \$10,000 bonus for making the playoffs. What paid off was the residue of trust and team unity built up over several years, among the players themselves as well as between players and the organization.

The positive climate, established over time, made possible the most rapid recovery from distraction and turmoil.

On top of that, the 49ers have been lucky since showing all their weaknesses in losing their opener at Pittsburgh, 30-17.

They were about to enter the strike period 0-2, trailing at Cincinnati in the closing seconds. But when the Bengals tried to run out the clock on fourth down and left two seconds to play, Montana hit Rice with a 25-yard TD pass for a gift victory, 27-26.

Their next game, with Philadelphia, then a formidable opponent, was canceled by the strike.

They didn't have to face the "real" Giants, who had whipped them, 49-3, in last year's playoffs, and rolled over New York's weak replacement squad.

They had Montana, Dwight Clark and some other regulars contributing to the next two replacement-team victories, over Atlanta and St. Louis.

They played the Rams after Eric Dickerson was traded, when Ram disorganization was at its worst.

They played Chicago when the Bears were without Jim McMahon. In that game, Montana also won the first quarter and Steve Young took over at quarterback in a 41-0 rout. (Young, being groomed as Montana's eventual successor, was acquired in a forward-looking trade with Tampa Bay before the season started.)

The 49ers beat Cleveland at full strength and split with New Orleans. And their own injuries kept them from fielding their own "best" unit at any time, especially on defense. Luck helps only when you're good enough to take advantage of it.

The 49ers started out lucky but became good, ahead of schedule. So far they've won only their divisional race. But their expectations, now, are legitimately high.

Bill Walsh

It goes beyond drawing up plays.

So what has been wrong this season? Not much beyond the strike, according to the league.

Browne points out that among the positive stories of 1987 are the fact that there are three black starting quarterbacks, that the Philadelphia Eagles' Reggie White has emerged as the top defensive player in the game and that Jerry Rice is a record-breaking touchdown receiver for the 49ers.

And it is true that fans have continued to watch and turn out. Attendance is at more than 59,000 a game since the strike ended in a league that has gone over a season average of 60,000 only twice. And the new Sunday night ESPN telecasts have attracted about a third more viewers than was anticipated.

The NFL obviously disagrees with people who, not being able to find a dominant team in the American Conference, call one of the divisions the "AFC Least" and disparage "parody" as "parody."

Browne cites Don Shula, no less, coach of the Miami Dolphins, who claims that the division has been building in strength for some time, and that the signs were there for both Indianapolis and Buffalo to shift the balance of power.

"It would be the first to agree that the 24-day strike was the major story of our season," says Browne. "However, it was far from being the only story."

SCOREBOARD

Basketball

U.S. College Results

St. Bonaventure 60, George Mason 40
Syracuse 116, Maryland 80
Kentucky 100, Alaska-Anchorage 58
Maryland 82, South Carolina 77
Ole Miss 81, James Madison 58
Duke 84, Alcorn 51
Minnesota 84, Bethune-Cookman 50
Missouri 85, St. Joseph 51
Marquette 81, St. Joseph (Ind.) 70
Texas 85, VMI 74

Butler 76, Iowa 54
Toledo 80, Navy 42
Cent. Connecticut 81, Delaware St. 65
Mercer 85, Long Island U. 71
Clemson 81, North Carolina 77
Col. Poly-SLO 77, Oregon Tech 40
Chico St. 76, Santa Barbara 51, 101
Southern St. 85, South Dakota 74
Whittier 78, Lewis & Clark 72
CITRUS COLLEGE CLASSIC
Alabama 65, Calif. Florida 54
Pittsburgh 72, Florida St. 71
CONNECTICUT MUTUAL CLASSIC
Connecticut 82, Hartford 54, 50T
Princeton 62, San Francisco 42
Clemson 81, North Carolina 77
Chambersburg 81, Wm. E. Kentucky 57
Third Place: Columbia 80, Detroit 45
SCAC HOLIDAY FESTIVAL
Kansas 84, Memphis 61, 62
St. John's 81, Marist 59

Oregon 82, Pacific 55
Oregon St. 82, Lamar 49
Portland 78, N. Arizona 68
Texas Christian 66, North Carolina 44
Chambersburg 81, Wm. E. Kentucky 57
Third Place: SW Missouri St. 77, Grambling 60
SALEM STATE TOURNAMENT
Chambersburg 81, Wm. E. Kentucky 57
Third Place: Bucknell 66, Fresno St. 54
HOLIDAY CLASSIC
Indiana 84, Penn St. 54
Shenandoah 75, Colleton Barbara 45
JCU TOURNAMENT
John Carroll 72, Hobart 48
MILWAUKEE CLASSIC
Cleveland 81, St. Ignace 76
Marquette 82, Air Force 22
MUSIC CITY INVITATIONAL
First Round
Carnell 77, Miami, Ohio 71
Vanderbilt 82, East Carolina 43
NYU TOURNAMENT
First Round
Catholic U. 82, Tufts 74
RAINBOW CLASSIC
First Round
Louisville 87, Southern Meth. 79
N. Carolina St. 82, Clemson 55
SALEM STATE INVITATIONAL
Chambersburg 81, Wm. E. Kentucky 57
Third Place: Bowdoin 76, Suffolk 53
SIENA COLLEGE TOURNAMENT
First Round
Bowling Green 74, Wagner 71
Sierra 113, Vermont 74
SOUTH FLORIDA INVITATIONAL
First Round
Michigan 82, Clemson 88
South Florida 87, Fla. International 67
SUGAR BOWL TOURNAMENT
First Round
Southern U. 114, New Orleans 101
Temple 76, Mississippi 61
SUN BOWL TOURNAMENT
First Round
Ala.-Birmingham 64, California 50
Texas-El Paso 53, Boston College 60
TCBY CLASSIC
Chambersburg 81, Wm. E. Kentucky 57
Third Place: Bowdoin 76, Suffolk 53
SIENA COLLEGE TOURNAMENT
First Round
Bowling Green 74, Wagner 71
Sierra 113, Vermont 74
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